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[A Physical Geography of Sapta Saindhava]

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LUCKNOW

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

Those who have been intimately connected with the author of this work, late Lt.-Col. Manohar Lal Bhargava, testify that he started work on this subject in his early thirties and was still at work when in 1939 he fell sick and died. The readers of this book will realise that the enormity of work that it involved needed a whole life-time of patient research and devotion. The most admirable feature has been that an Indian of such affluent circumstances in 1930's was so keenly given to scholarship and was so confident of his thoroughness that he could boldly differ with Indian scholars of ancient past like Yāska and British and German scholars of recent past, with arguments difficult to refute.

Providence was unkind in taking away such a great man at the early age of 49 and that was perhaps the reason why the author could not draw his own maps which, one can be sure, he must have had in his scheme. In the absence of such maps the only alternative has been to reprint such maps of Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India as have been referred to by the author. It is hoped that they will help the reader to follow the line of argument of the author to an appreciable extent.

As this book was written in 1930's, the late author gave for the modern Geographical names those that were current then. For instance he used Rājputāna, The United Provinces of Āgrā and Oudh etc. Such names are no longer current and the modern reader may find it easier to read instead Rājasthān, Uttar Pradesh etc. In places where substitution was altogether innocent, it has been effected but at others it was not so simple. For instance the words India, Pañjāb, etc. have undergone a change in the meaning and caution has been exercised by pointing out in the footnotes that these terms carry the meaning ascribed to them in pre-partition India. Yet it has not been possible to correct such references completely. Many regions which now are in Pakistan have been treated as parts of India in this book for the simple reason that when the book was written they were parts of India. It is hoped that the readers of this book do not require to

be told that places like N. W. F. P., Bahāvalpur, Sindh etc. now fall in Pakistan.

In the original manuscript the verses and the references ran with the text. Liberty has been taken of separating them as footnotes to make a convenient reading of the text possible.

The edition of the Ṛgveda published by *Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona* has been taken as the standard for quoting the text and numbering the verses. Every attempt has been made to print the correct text by tallying it with this edition of the Ṛgveda. Some references from their sources could not be checked on account of non-availability of the books with the editor. It is believed that they are right because in the text checked, the discrepancy was extremely rare. All this has been necessitated because of our misfortune that the author is no more.

No effort has been spared to publish the work as free of errors as possible realising that a small error in this type of work could grievously injure the cause the late author wanted to plead.

The late author had described this work as 'The Physical Geography of the Sapta Saindhava'. There is no doubt that this title described the work most accurately; but for the ease of comprehension by a large number of intermediaries who will be instrumental in making this book available to the ultimate person—the reader of this book—the present name has been given to this book. We hope we are not guilty of showing disrespect to the late learned author by this encroachment.

Wherever there is an indication in the footnotes to see another footnote, it refers to the footnote of the same chapter unless otherwise noted. All the unnamed references in the footnote refer to the Ṛgveda. The Rāmāyaṇa means Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa.

Dr. Purushottam Lal Bhargava, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Rajasthan University, Jaipur and Dr. K. D. Bharadwaj, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Modern Higher Secondary School, New Delhi, have greatly contributed to ensure that the text of the entire book is accurate. But for the able guidance of these two learned Indologists it would have been extremely difficult to fathom this sea of names and places.

—P. D. Mehrotra

TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM

The following system of transliteration has been adopted in this book:—

अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ऋ	ए	ऐ	ओ	औ	ं	:
a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	e	ai	o	au	ṁ	ḥ

क्	ख्	ग्	घ्	ङ
k	kh	g	gh	ṅ
च्	छ्	ज्	झ्	ञ
c	ch	j	jh	ñ
ट्	ठ्	ड्	ढ्	ण्
ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ
त्	थ्	द्	ध्	न्
t	th	d	dh	n
प्	फ्	ब्	भ्	म्
p	ph	b	bh	m

य्	र्	ल्	व्
y	r	l	v
श	ष्	स्	ह्
ś	ṣ	s	h

CONTENTS

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THE SEAS

The most unmistakable features mentioned in the Ṛgveda are the four seas.[1] Almost all scholars, with the exception of Das, have been puzzled by this fact, because they started with the theory that the Āryas were foreigners and they invaded the country from the north-west during the second or third millennium B. C.. On account of this theory, they did not expect to find the geography of Ṛgvedic Sapta Saindhava to be much different from that of the North-Western India* of modern times. They were not prepared to recognise the existence of the four seas, as the recognition would have violently shaken their theory. They, therefore, either ignored the four seas or adopted subterfuges, to explain them away. Some have gone to the extent of saying that the Ṛgvedic Āryas were not acquainted with the seas or oceans, completely ignoring the innumerable allusions to them[2] as well as to large ships and to navigation in shoreless and stormy waters.

Some of the indirect references are: knowledge of the ships of the sea[3], glory-seekers (*i.e.* adventurers) on the sea[4], profit-seekers (*i.e.* merchants) going in company to the sea[5]; crossing in a ship and crossing the sea in a ship[6]; embarking and urging the ship in the middle of the sea and riding the ridges (*i.e.* high waves) like swinging in a swing[7]. Other references

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* India means prepartitioned India, that is, including the territory now comprising Pakistan—Ed.

1. समुद्रांश्चतुरो IX-33-6 and चतुःसमुद्रं । X-47-2.
2. *e.g.* समुद्र, सिन्धु, अर्णव etc.
3. वेद नावः समुद्रियः । I-25-7.
4. समुद्रे न श्रवस्यवः । I-48-3.
5. समुद्रं न संचरणे सनिष्यवः । I-56-2 and IV-55-6.
6. नावेव पारय and सिन्धुमिव नावयाति । I-97-7 & 8.
7. आ यद्रुहाव वरुणश्च नावं प्र यत्समुद्रमीरयाव मध्यम् ।
अधि यदपां स्नुभिश्चराव प्र प्रेंख ईंखयावहै शुभे कम् ।। VII-88-3.

establishing the knowledge of the seas are wealth from the sea[8] and the many verses which speak of the plight and rescue of Bhujjyu Taugra,[9] left in a cloud of water (*i.e.* mist) and brought to clear atmosphere; animated (*i.e.* fast going) ships able to stand stormy waters[10]; sailing for three nights and three days in three winged cars (*i.e.* ships having sails) having one hundred feet (*i.e.* oars) and six horses (*i.e.* masts) to the desert or sandy shore across the sea of water[11]; drifting in a sea without beginning (*i.e.* shoreless), non-stationary (*i.e.* billowy or stormy) and without hold (*i.e.* bottomless) in a ship having one hundred oars[12]; from the floods of the sea in ships having sails and brown coloured or straight masts[13]; drifting on the sea and going uninjured[14]; drifting about in ships with self-yoked wings[15] (*i.e.* sails).

Besides the above references there are many more, such as—in the Parāvat sea[16], rescued from the mighty surge of the seas (*i.e.* high seas) in fast going ships equipped with sails[17], from the beginningless darkness (*i.e.* all-pervading mist) in the middle of the sea in four ships[18]; from the flood of the sea through dustless regions and leagues amidst the floods in ships equipped with sails[19]; abandoned in the middle of the sea[20]; deserted

8. रयिं च न आ पवस्वा समुद्रात् ।। IX-97-44.
9. Such as I-116-3 to 5.
10. तुग्रो ह भुज्युमश्विनोद मेघे रयिं न कश्चिन्ममृवाँ अवाहाः ।
तमूहथुर्नौभिरात्मन्वतीभिरन्तरिक्षप्रुद्भिरपोदकाभिः ।। I-116-3.
11. तिस्रः क्षपस्त्रिरहातिव्रजद्भिर्नासत्या भुज्युमूहथुः पतंगैः
समुद्रस्य धन्वन्नार्द्रस्य पारे त्रिभी रथैः शतपद्भिः षळश्वैः ।। I-116-4.
12. अनारम्भणे तदवीरयेथामनास्थाने अग्रभणे समुद्रे ।
यदश्विना ऊहथुर्भुज्युमस्तं शतारित्रां नावमातस्थिवांसम् ।। I-116-5.
13. अर्णसो निः समुद्राद्विभिरूहथुर्ऋज्रेभिरश्वैः । I-117 14.
14 प्रोळ्हः समुद्रमव्यथिर्जगन्वान् । I-117-15.
15. भुरमाणं विभिर्गतं स्वयुक्तिभिः । I-119-4.
16. परावति । I-182-5 & 6.
17. युवमेतं चक्रथुः सिन्धुषु प्लवमात्मन्वन्तं पक्षिणं तौग्र्याय कम् ।
येन देवत्रा मनसा निरूहथुः सुपप्तनी पेतथुः क्षोदसो महः ।। I-182-5.
18. अवविद्धं तौग्र्यमप्स्वन्तरनारम्भणे तमसि प्रविद्धम् ।
चतस्रो नावो जठलस्य जुष्टा उदश्विभ्यामिषिताः पारयन्ति ।। I-182-6.
19. ता भुज्युं विभिरद्भ्यः समुद्रात्तुग्रस्य सूनुमूहथू रजोभिः ।
अरेणुभिर्योजनेभिर्भुजन्ता पतत्रिभिरर्णसोनिरुपस्थात् ।। VI-62-6.
20. मध्ये जहुर्दुरेवासः समुद्रे । VII-68-7.

in the middle of the sea and rescued by ships equipped with sails unflagging and undaunted[21] (*i.e.* after hard and long search); in winged ones[22] (*i. e.* ships equipped with sails); in chariots with sails[23]; swinging in the sea beyond sandy regions and rescued by ships equipped with sails[24] etc.

To pursue the matter further, Udamegha (in singular number), literally a cloud of water, can only mean mist when used in connection with a sea (samudra) having desert and sandy zones[25] on its shore, specially when it is described as darkness without beginning in the middle of the sea[26]. I disagree with Max Müller, who believed that the Ṛks contain mostly myths, but the darkness (tamas) of one verse described as a cloud of water (Udamegha) in another cannot rationally mean the night.

There are expressions in other verses used in connection with *nau*, and *plava* establishing the use of ships or boats propelled by sails attached to them. These expressions are *pataṅga-ratha*, *rathavi*, *vi*, *patatri*, *vayo* and *pakṣi*. Literally these expressions mean winged chariots and winged ones. But they must actually mean ships or boats propelled by sails attached to them as indicated by svayukti. We find the words *aśva* and *karṇa* (literally ear) used in connection with *nau*, and *plava*. These words must mean the masts to which sails were attached and the rudder respectively; the analogy being picked up from horse-chariots, which must have come into use before the sailing ships were constructed. Sails were called wings from the analogy with birds flying in the air.

Similarly the word *śatapada* (literally hundred feet) must mean one hundred oars as the word *śatāritra* is translated as having hundred oars.

Needless to say that the *nāvas* propelled by one hundred oars and having sails fixed to six masts and mentioned as *plava* in another verse referring to the same event must be big vessels, *i.e.* ships fit for sailing on high seas[27]. Moreover, *plava* being in masculine gender must mean a ship.

21. युवं भुज्युमवविद्धं समुद्र उदूहथुरर्णसो अस्रिधानैः।
पतत्रिभिरश्रमैरव्यथिभिर्दंसनाभिरश्विनापारयन्ता॥ VII-69-7.
22. वयो। VIII-5-33.
23. रथो विभिः। VIII-5-32.
24. समुद्र आ रजसः पार इंखितम् यात मच्छा पतत्रिभिः। X-143-5.
25. धन्व and रजस्।
26. अप्स्वन्तरनारंभणे तमसि। 1-182-6 (See footnote 18).
27. I-116-5 and I-182-5 (See footnote 12 and 17).

According to these scholars, the lower course of the Indus was the biggest collection of water known to the Āryas. The reason for this conclusion probably is that they have taken the word 'Sindhu' to mean the river Indus only. They have ignored the fact that the word 'Sindhu' is used both for sea and the Indus. Also many verses[28] speak of *samudra* (sea or ocean) and 'Sindhu' together. The latter is used both in singular and plural numbers (*i.e.* to mean the river Indus or the several mouths of the Indus or rivers in general). Such verses clearly prove that the *ṛṣis* knew the sea or ocean as distinct from the river Indus.

I have spoken of the mouths of the Indus, as *nadyo*[29], in addition to Sindhuṣu (*i.e.* the Indus in plural number) which would, therefore, mean the several streams or mouths of the Indus by which it joined the sea. This is further confirmed by a verse [30] which describes Varuṇa as having cut the several channels for the Indus. The word *sindhu*, meaning the Indus or a river in general, must have, therefore, been quite distinct from the same word when used for a sea and, therefore, the words *samudra* and *sindhu* (the latter in the sense of sea) could not have been used for the lower course of the Indus.

The ṛṣis knew not only one, but more than one sea or ocean. This is proved by many expressions such as *samudraiḥ*[31] (*i.e.* in plural number meaning many seas), *samudrā*[32] (in dual number meaning two seas), *sindhūnām*[32] (plural of seas) an expression which could not be applied to rivers in that verse as it speaks of the Aśvins halting there, paryarṇāṁsi[33] plural number, (round the seas), *arṇavaiḥ*[34] (in masculine gender meaning many seas) and other expressions meaning 'from this sea and that sea'[35] in opposition to

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28. *e. g.* VI-19-5, VIII-6-4 & 35 and 92-22, IX-86-8 & X-65-13, 66-11 & 89-11.
29. IX-86-8.
30. प्र तेरदद्वरुणो यातवे पथः सिन्धो। X-75-2.
31. समुद्रैः। VI-50-13.
32. समुद्रा। V-73-8.
32. सिन्धूनां। अरित्रं वां दिवस्पृथु तीर्थे सिन्धूनां रथः। धिया युयुज्र इन्दवः। I-46-8.
33. पर्यर्णांसि। युवो रजांसि सुयमासो अश्वा रथो यद्वां पर्यर्णांसि दीयत्।
हिरण्यया वां पवयः प्रुषायन्मध्वः पिबन्ता उषसः सचेथे। I-180-1.
34. अर्णवैः। V-59-1.
35. आ समुद्रादवरादा परस्मात्। VII-6-7.

the expression meaning heaven and earth[36]; meaning Parāvat and Arvāvat seas;[37] and meaning eastern and western seas[38], etc.

That the ṛṣis had the knowledge of sea is proved by many other verses. One verse[39] speaks of the 'Seven Rivers' going to the ocean or sea. The same idea is expressed in other verses which speak of rivers flowing towards the sea[40], of rivers longing for sea[41], of rivers bowing to the ocean[42], of rivers swelling the sea[43], and of rivers flowing into the sea,[44] though the number seven is not mentioned. This idea will be primarily applicable only to the main and independent rivers of the country and not to their tributaries and affluents. As will be explained in due course, some verses[45] show that the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā must be counted among the seven main rivers. These two as well as some smaller rivers, that will be discussed in their proper places, did not and could not have joined the lower course of the Indus and could not be described as doing so by any stretch of imagination.

Further, expressions such as 'like a sea stirring'[46], 'Vasiṣṭha's greatness deep like a sea'[47], 'Indra spreading himself like a sea'[48] 'sending forth unceasing flow of songs like water from ocean's depth'[49], 'Indra vaster than heavens and floods of ocean'[50] will be senseless if applied to the lower course of the Indus, where it appears it was divided into several channels in the Ṛgvedic times [51] as it is now.

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36. दिव आ पृथिव्याः ।
37. परावति अर्वावति समुद्रे or शर्यणावति। IX-65-22.
38. उभौ समुद्रावा क्षेति यश्च पूर्व उतापरः। X-136-5.
39. समुद्रं न स्रवतः सप्त यह्वीः । I-71-7.
40. समुद्रं न स्रवतो रोधचक्राः । I-190-7.
41. समुद्रे न सिन्धवो यादमानाः । VI-19-5.
42. नमन्तः कृष्टयः समुद्रायेव सिन्धवः। VIII-6-4.
43. वावृधुः समुद्रमिव सिन्धवः । VIII-6-35.
44. समुद्रमिव सिन्धवः । VIII-92-22.
45. X-75-5 & 6.
46. यथा समुद्र एजति । V-78-8.
47. समुद्रस्येव महिमा गभीरः । VII-33-8.
48. समुद्रइव प्रपथे । VIII-3-4.
49. गिरो अनिशितसर्गा अपः प्रेरयं सगरस्य बुध्नात् । X-89-4.
50. प्रान्तरिक्षात्प्र समुद्रस्य धासेः । X-89-11.
51. IX-86-8 and X-75-2.

From the above it is clear that the Ṛgvedic Āryas were acquainted with sea, and it is unjustifiable to hold that they were unknown to them and that the biggest collection of water known to them was the lower course of the Indus river.

Proceeding on the wrong assumption that the Ṛgvedic Āryas did not know the sea, some have interpreted the expression 'four seas' to mean imaginary seas corresponding to the four quarters of the horizon. Others have unhesitatingly translated it to mean four divisions of the heavens. So far as I know, none has brought forward any valid reasons why the word 'samudra' should not be given its ordinary and natural meaning, *viz.* the sea or ocean, in those verses, beyond the statement that no seas were known to the Āryas about the time when they imagine the supposed Ārya invasion and occupation of the country to have taken place, or when they think the verses were composed.

As far as their stand, that the Āryas were foreigners who invaded and occupied the country, is concerned, there is nothing definite to prove it. On the other hand, Indian tradition does not support the view. The Ṛgveda does not show the Āryas as outsiders. The universally accepted fact that this book is the oldest available Ārya literature and its language the nearest approach to the so-called proto-Ārya, Indo-Germanic or Indo-European speech, indicates that the Sapta Saindhava was the cradle of the Ārya race; while all other Ārya peoples, whose language got corrupt by contact with non-Āryas and by residence in foreign lands and whose earliest literature dates from progressively later periods westwards, had migrated from this country. This point has been very ably developed by Kalla in his *Home of the Āryas* and I have not yet read its refutation.

Their second basis about the time of composition of the verses also appears wrong. There is no evidence, beyond arbitrary conjectures, to show that the verses were originally composed when they are supposed to have been composed. The Indian tradition declares the Vedas to be *anādi*, *i.e.* coming from times immemorial, *viz.* a period beyond their knowledge. I shall be the last person to say that such traditions should be accepted without proper consideration, but I hold that there must be sound arguments brought forward to reject them.

Now, let us take the question of migration. Max Müller[52] says: 'But as in his language and in his grammar he (the Hindu) has preserved some-

52. *History of Saṁskṛta Literature*, p. 14.

thing of what seems peculiar to each of the northern dialects singly, as he agrees with the Greek and the German where the Greek and the German seem to differ from all the rest and as no other language has carried off so large a share of the common Ārya heirloom—whether roots, grammar, words, myths, or legends—it is natural to suppose that, though perhaps the eldest brother, the Hindu was the last to leave the Ārya family.'[53].

But the Hindu did not leave the ancentral home. He was victorious in the numerous wars mentioned in the Ṛk verses. On account of these wars his other brothers left or were forced to leave. The Hindu was left in the sole possession of the land. Why should he leave his home then? The natural consequence would be that the victorious Hindu stayed in his ancestral home. To conclude otherwise is illogical.

We must remember that the word used is *samudra*. This word naturally as well as ordinarily means 'sea' and not 'heavens' or 'horizons'. To understand the ancient verses correctly, words should be translated into their ordinary or natural meanings, as long as that gives sense. Words should be interpreted differently only when those meanings have no sense. Now *samudra* translated as sea gives as good (in fact better) sense to the two verses as the forced meaning heaven or horizon. There is, therefore, no valid reason why the word should be given special meanings simply to suit the conclusions of later-day scholars. Conclusions should be based on known facts, rather than on distortions to suit otherwise untenable theories. Many verses which reveal expressions like 'wealth from sea or from heaven',[54] 'like wind, like forest and like sea stirring',[55] 'placing sea and heavens in apposition',[56] 'waters from heaven' *i.e.* floods of rain water, flowing dug (from earth), *i.e.* gushing out of springs or flowing by itself, *i.e.* 'rivers speeding to ocean'[57]; 'the sea, the river, the region (the atmosphere), the firmament, Aja Ekapāda (the sun) and the watery cloud',[58] 'vaster than heaven and ocean'[59] etc., clearly show that the ṛṣis differentiated the sea

53. Max Müller : *History of Saṁskṛta Literature*, p. 14.
54. रयिं समुद्रादुत वा दिवस्परि। I-47-6.
55. यथा वातो यथा वनं यथा समुद्र एजति। V-78-8.
56. VII-6-7. (See footnote 35).
57. या आपो दिव्या उत वा स्रवन्ति खनित्रिमा उत वा याः स्वयंजाः। समुद्रार्था याः। VII-49-2.
58. समुद्रः सिन्धू रजो अन्तरिक्षमज एकपात्तनयित्नुरर्णवः। X-66-11.
59. X-89-11. (See footnote 50).

from the atmosphere, heaven and horizon. Surely the samudra of VII-49-2 could not possibly be a sea in the heaven.

The existence of the four seas is assailed, again very unjustifiably, in another way. Some authors have read in the Epics and the Purāṇas description of the seven seas in the geography of the world. Many scholars of the Ṛgveda have compared the mention of the four seas in the Ṛgveda to the description of the seven seas in the Epics and the Purāṇas, and say that, just as the description of the seven seas in the later literature (*i.e.* the Epics and the Purāṇas) is unreal and imaginary, so is the mention of the four seas in the Ṛgveda. But a study of both will easily prove that there can be no comparison between the two and the conclusion is absolutely unjustified. It is very likely, as suggested by some scholars, that the later idea of the seven seas originated from a misunderstanding of the Ṛgvedic expression 'Sapta Sindhavaḥ',[61] the word 'sindhu' being misinterpreted as sea.

The existence of the four seas is denied by others in one more way. They have asserted that, unlike the rivers and the mountains, the four seas are not named in the Ṛgveda and must, therefore, be imaginary rather than real. It is surprising to find even some research scholars making such statements completely ignoring facts. One would like these scholars to quote the Ṛgvedic name of the Sulemān ranges, the Salt range and the Northern Pāriyātras, all of which, according even to their own theories, must have been known to the people of Sapta Saindhava.

As a matter of fact the four seas are named. They are called the Arvāvat or the Pūrva, the Parāvat or the Para, the Sarasvat and the Śaryaṇāvat. It may be said that the first two are not proper names, but so are the *Sindhu* (river or sea), the name of the biggest river and the Himālayas (the abode of snow) the name of the largest and the highest mountain ranges of the country. Both of these names Sindhu and Himālaya may be applied to any river or sea and any snow-covered mountains respectively. In fact the word 'sindhu' is quite frequently used as a common noun in the verses sometimes meaning a river and at others a sea. It is also not quite clear whether the word 'Himavanta'[62] means the modern Himālayas only or all snow-clad

60. VII-49-2 (See above footnote 57).
61. सप्तसिन्धवः।
62. हिमवन्तो। X-121-4.

mountains. The probabilities are in favour of the latter. There is, thus, no reason why Arvāvat or Pūrva and Parāvat or Para should not be accepted as proper names of the two seas situated in the east and the west of the country.

These two seas—Arvāvat or Pūrva and Parāvat or Para—connected with the rise and the setting of the sun are quite naturally frequently mentioned together. At one place,[63] the sun, addressed as keśin (literally hairy, *i.e.* having innumerable rays), is said to have his home in the Pūrva as well as the Para sea,[64] meaning that it rose in the morning from the former and retired for rest in the evening to the latter. In Sapta Saindhava the sun would always be seen rising in the south-east and setting in the south-west and more so from the autumnal to the vernal equinoxes. The Pūrva and the Para seas would, therefore, be situated in the south-east and the south-west of the country. It is these two seas, which are described as the Arvāvat (the near or the eastern) and the Parāvat (the far or the western) seas,[65] where Indra is said to be living in one or the other. It must be these two seas, through which the Aśvins, the precursors of the sun, are said to travel[66] presumably during the night. In another verse,[67] the chariot of the Aśvins is said to rest on the shore (in singular number) of seas (plural number). The seas must be the Arvāvat, the Sarasvat and the Parāvat seas. These three seas were imagined to come close to each other on the other side of the earth so as to have one common shore between them. On this common shore the chariot of the Aśvins could be supposed to rest in the middle of the night. Again, in another place the same deities are said to go round the seas,[68] *i.e.* more than two seas *viz.* the Arvāvat, the Sarasvat and the Parāvat; while at still another place their chariot is described as travelling over seven rivers,[69] *i.e.* over the 'Land of the Seven Rivers'.

These two verses, when considered together and compared with other

63. X-136-5. (See footnote 38).
64. उभौ समुद्रावा क्षेति यश्च पूर्वं उतापरः
65. VIII-12-17, 13-15, 82-1 & 97-4.
66. समुद्राति पर्षथः V-73-8.
67. तीर्थे सिन्धूनां I-46-8.
68. पर्यर्णांसि-I-180-1.
69. सप्त स्रवतो VII-67-8.

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verses describing the movement of the Aśvins, refer to the nightly and daily journeys respectively of these deities.

Moreover, at a place, the Aśvins are said to live in a house in the sea[70] obviously during the night. It must, therefore, refer either to the Parāvat sea, into which they sank in the evening, or the Arvāvat, from which they rose in the morning. Again, in yet another place, there is an expression meaning 'from this or near and that or far sea'[71], in association with 'from heaven and earth'[72].

The seas referred to must be situated at the ends of the country, very likely in the east and the west, though the verse may also refer to the southern and northern seas at the same time. They would, therefore, be the Arvāvat and Parāvat, if not also the Sarasvat and the Śaryaṇāvat as well, indicating the four main directions with the Earth and the Heaven supplying the nadir and the zenith, as *Agni* Vaiśvānara is said to give hidden treasures brought from all of them at the rise of the sun. Finally the Parāvat, the Arvāvat and the Śaryaṇāvat, all three are mentioned and the Soma juice is said to be pressed on their shores.[73] No doubt, the word *samudra* is not mentioned in several verses,[74] but is used for Arvāvat and Parāvat in others[75], and Śaryaṇāvat will be proved to be the name of a sea later on.

So far the existence of the four seas has been proved collectively. Now the existence of each of them will be established separately. There are many verses speaking of each of them alone.

The Arvāvat or Pūrva Sea. At one place the sun is said to come out of a sea[76], at another place the same idea has been expressed[77], while at yet another place the Devas are credited with having brought out the sun, which was hiding in a sea[78]. At one place Aśvins are referred to as the

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70. समुद्रेअध्याकृते गृहेऽत VIII-10-1.
71. आसमुद्रादवरादा परस्मात् VII-6-7.
72. दिव आ पृथिव्या: VII-6-7.
73. ये सोमास: परावति ये अर्वावति सुन्विरे। ये वाद: शर्यणावति। IX-65-22.
74. *e.g.* VIII-12-17, 82-1, & 97-4 and IX-65-22.
75. यच्छक्रासि परावति यदर्वावति वृत्रहन्। यद्वा समुद्रे अन्धसोऽवितेदसि VIII-13-15.
76. उद्यन्त्समुद्रादुत I-163-1.
77. समुद्रादुदाचरत् VII-55-7.
78. समुद्र आ गूळ्हमा सूर्यमजभर्तन X-72-7.

sons of a sea,[79] *i.e.* they were born or they came out of a sea every morning. At another place their chariot is said to reach the heaven after turning up from a sea[80], while according to the verse following it the sea is said to water their horses with Rasā.[81]

In the last three verses referred to above, the words sindhu and samudra have been used indiscriminately, the former in two of them. This proves that the word sindhu means a sea and not the river Indus. Moreover, its association with the rise of the Aśvins, the heralds of the sun, shows that the sea was situated in the south-east. Therefore, it cannot be the lower course of the Indus in the south-west. The last verse also indicates that the Aśvins were seen rising over the place, where the Rasā river of this verse joined the Arvāvat sea. The Rasā, therefore, must be a river in the south-east and not a north-western tributary of the Indus.

It may be added that the oldest place held sacred to the Aśvins and mentioned in the Mahābhārata[82], between Tarantuka and Pañcanada, with Koṭī in the east and Varāha and Soma in Jayantī on the west, is still recognised at Āsan about ten miles east of Jīnd on the southern border of the Kurukṣetra area. It is thus evident that the sea of all these verses was the Arvāvat or Pūrva sea, situated in the south-east of Sapta Saindhava.

The memory of this Arvāvat or Pūrva sea is also retained in later Saṁskṛta literature. The great sage Viśvāmitra Kauśika (a Ṛgvedic ṛṣi) is mentioned in this literature to have practised austerities in low lands near the sea.[83] The Āpagā (a branch of the Ṛgvedic Āpayā) which was later known as Caturaṅg or Cataṅg is the river known as the Kauśikī in Saṁskṛta literature and is mentioned in the Mahābhārata[84] and Rāmāyaṇa,[85] though the ancient tradition is placed in a wrong setting there. It is associated with Viśvāmitra in the Rāmāyaṇa. Later on, the lower course of the Rākā or the Rāksī also came to be known as Kauśikī.

The ancient Gādhipurī, named after Gādhi or Gāthin, the father of

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79. सिन्धुमातरा I-46-2.
80. उरु वां रथ: परि नक्षति द्यामा यत्समुद्रादभि वर्तते वाम् IV-43-5.
81. सिन्धुर्ह वां रसया सिञ्चदश्वान् IV-43-6.
82. Vana parva LXXXIII.
83. सागरानूपे vide: Pargiter *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* p. 260.
84. Vana parva LXXXIII.
85. I-XXXV.

Viśvāmitra, and now called Gādhilī, and Khedi Gādhiān, *i.e.* an overflow settlement of the Gādhis or Kuśikas, are both situated close to each other, on the right bank of the Kauśikī-Cataṅg, about seven miles east of Thānesar. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[86] and indirectly the Ṛgveda itself say that the Kauśikas were a branch of the Ṛgvedic Bharatas and show the former to be associated with the latter. According to the Ṛgveda[87], the Bharatas ruled in the valleys of the Dṛṣadvatī, the Āpayā and the Sarasvatī, in the district of Mānuṣa, with Mānuṣa town and Ilāspada (both near Kaithal) as their centres. The place sacred to their tribal Devī, *viz.* the Bhāratī, is still remembered at Kopar or Koer, twenty miles further east and on the old course of the Kauśikī. The Kuśikas, therefore, would have flourished in the eastern part of the holy Kurukṣetra area and the sea associated with their first great sage, *viz.*, Viśvāmitra, a Ṛgvedic seer, will be the Arvāvat sea of that Saṁhitā.

The geologists say that the sub-Himalayan regions now known as the Uttar Pradesh, Bihār and Bengāl, were covered by a sea aeons ago. H. G. Wells has shown this sea as existing right in the east of Sapta Saindhava about 50,000 years back and further east about 25,000 years ago in two maps in his *Outline of History*. Das has identified this with the Pūrva sea of the Ṛgveda though he calls it the Gangetic Sea.

As far as I can judge, that sea must have receded a long distance from Sapta Saindhava, at least in the later days of the Ṛgvedic age, and the Āryas moved further east beyond the Gaṅgā. Had there been some other barrier difficult to cross we would have had some reference to it. But there is no reference—not even in the latest hymns. The Arvāvat or the Pūrva sea of the Ṛgveda must have, therefore, existed close by.

At present there are several shallow marshes of varying sizes at various distances, a few miles south, south-west, and west of Najafgaḍh township in the Delhi province. They are still euphemistically called the lake of Najafgaḍh. This is the only geographical feature in the south-east of Sapta Saindhava, which might now be the last remnant of the sea or at least a large lake.

The largest among them, about five miles south of that town, still bears that name; while the others are called after the villages that have sprung

86. VII-3-17.

87. नि त्वा दधे वर आ पृथिव्या इलायास्पदे सुदिनत्वे अह्नाम्।
दृषद्वत्यां मानुष आपयायां सरस्वत्यां रेवदग्ने दिदीहि। III-23-4.

near them on their dried and filled up beds. Most of them get completely dry or retain very little water during summer. The small lake near Jahāngīrpur (in Jhajjar tehsil of Rohtak district) is the only one that justifies the name. They receive the rain water from the neighbouring parts of the Rohtak and Gurgāon districts and the Delhi province except from the north-east and get joined together through narrow channels after heavy rains. They are drained by a small rivulet, which running north-east joins the Yamunā a little above Delhi and generally always contains some water.

After very heavy rainfall over drainage areas, this lake still receives the waters of the Sāhbī and its three main tributaries from the south and south-west and of the (lower) Naī from the north. The Kṛṣṇāvatī from the south-west also reaches it after exceptionally heavy rains, but the Duhān from further south-west does not do so now, though it used to fall into this lake not very long ago. As will be shown later on, these four were permanent and fairly large rivers in ancient days. The lake would, therefore, have been permanent and large in those days. Cunningham has shown the lake about twenty miles long (north-south) and about seven miles broad.[88]

It is probably this lake, that is called the Dvaitavana in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[89]. It is said to have got that name from Dhvasan Dvaitavana, a powerful king of the Matsyas, who performed horse sacrifice on its shore. The Matsyas lived in the northern Pāriyātras (extending from Delhi to Khetaḍi in Rājasthāna from north-east to south-west and continuous with the Arāvalīs in Rājasthāna south and south-westwards) in post-Ṛgvedic ages and the lake situated not far in the north of these hills may well have been included in their territory during the reign of a powerful king like Dhvasan, or at least his domains may have extended up to its southern coast.

This lake and a forest of the same name are repeatedly mentioned in the Mahābhārata[90], in connection with the movements of the Pāṇḍava brothers during their exile. Unfortunately the journeys are not described in detail. But it is clear that according to the epic the lake and the forest were situated

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88. *Ancient Geography of India* : map no. X.

89. XIII-5-4-9.

90. In Vana parva and virāṭa parva.

in the south of Sarasvatī, east of the Kāmyaka forest and Tṛṇabindu lake which are said to be located at the head of the desert and in the west of the Yamunā, a position which aptly fits in with that of the Najafgaḍh lake. The Pāṇḍava brothers, during the last year of their exile, for obvious reasons, performed their journey from the lake to the capital of the Matsyas in a round about way to hide their track.

This lake is not mentioned in Vana parva[92], which describes the whole of the Kurukṣetra area between the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī, or in other words, between Macakruka (Amīn) in the north-east, Tarantuka (Sīnkh) in the south-east, Rāmahradas (Rāmrai) in the south-west and Arantuka (Beharjaccā) in the north-west, in full details. This shows that the lake was situated in the south of the Dṛṣadvatī. The lake called Dvaita[93] is differently named and appears to be the present Sīvan lake between Beharjaccā (Arantuka) and Māṅgnā (Sapta Sārasvata). It cannot, therefore, be the Dvaitavana lake of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and Mahābhārata which must be situated near the domains of the Matsyas.

It is apparent from these references that the lake of Najafgaḍh, formerly known as the Dvaitavana lake, was a famous and noteworthy geographical feature of that part of the country in early days.

As will be explained later on, the northern Pāriyātras appear to have been high mountains in the Ṛgvedic age. They would, therefore, have a much heavier rainfall and very probably also snowfall over them in those days. The Dṛṣadvatī, of which the (lower) Naī appears to have been a branch, will also appear to have been a large river. All the four rivers falling into the Dvaitavana lake must, therefore, have been much bigger in the Ṛgvedic age, than what they were in the Mahābhārata and even in the earlier Brāhmaṇic periods. The lake itself must consequently have been a far bigger collection of water in the former ages than in the later periods. It was this huge collection of water in the south-east that was known as the Arvāvat or the Pūrva seas in the Ṛgvedic age. It is nowhere mentioned by any other name in the Ṛgveda.

To be a complete barrier between Sapta Saindhava and modern India to the east of the Gaṅgā, so as to keep the Āryans away from the latter, this sea would have extended from the foot of the northern Pāriyātras in the

92. LXXXIII.
93. Śalya-XXXVII.

south-west to the foot of the Himālayas in the north-east. It must have, therefore, extended from the Gurgāon district through the Delhi province in the north-west of the hills and then the Meeruṭ district to the Bijnor district across to the present channels of the Yamunā and the Gaṅgā. There are no means to judge how far it extended south eastwards beyond Delhi, where the northern Pāriyātras end. But it must have been fairly broad to prevent the Āryas from crossing it and occupying the land on its other side in the Ṛgvedic age.

The Parāvat Sea. As explained above, the Para or Parāvat sea must have been situated in the south-west of Sapta Saindhava. The existence of this sea is proved by other verses as well [94]. In a verse [95], the chariot of the Aśvins is said to go into a sea. In another[96], the car-borne Aśvins are prayed to come back from the Parāvat sea. In still another the sun is described as sinking into a sea[97], while in yet another, Indra is said as enjoying in the Parāvat sea[98], and one verse also speaks of winds blowing from the sea[99]. Three of these verses speak of the sea by its proper name; while the sea of the other two, into which the Aśvins followed by the sun sank, cannot but be a sea in the south-west. The *sindhu* of the last verse cannot be the river Indus, which being the biggest and the only river called specially by that name would not need the qualifying word Parāvat, while a sea may. Similarly, the 'sindhu' of a verse [100], in which the sun was said to sink, is more likely to be a sea rather than a river, as Aśvins, his precursors, are said to go into a sea (*samudra*). Finally one verse speaks of Agni shining from the Parāvat (sea) across a desert[101], showing that this sea had begun to recede south-westwards even in the Ṛgvedic age.

The memory of the Parāvat sea is still retained in the area once occupied by it. The Indo-Jhelum-doāb in the south of the Salt range is still known as the Sindhu Sāgara like the Gaṅgā Sāgara at the mouth of

94. X-136-5. (See footnote 38).
95. रथो दस्रावमर्त्यः समुद्रे अश्विनेयते, I-30-18.
96. नासत्या रथ्या परावत आत्मेव वातः स्वसराणि गच्छतम् I-34-7.
97. अव सिन्धुं वरुणो द्यौरिव स्थाद्द्रप्सो न श्वेतो मृगस्तुविष्मान्।
गम्भीरशंसो रजसो विमानः सुपारक्षत्रः सतो अस्य राजा।। VII-87-6.
98. परावति समुद्रे VIII-12-17.
99. सिन्धोरा परावतः X-137-2.
100. VII-87-6. (See footnote 97).
101. यः परस्याः परावतस्तिरो धन्वातिरोचते X-187-2.

the Bhāgīrathī-Huglī, the old course of the Gaṅgā. Besides, a tehsīl and its chief town in Lyallpur district* are still called Samudrī (*i. e.* belonging to a sea or a small sea). The Parāvat sea would have, therefore, covered a good part of the Indo-Jhelum-doāb probably up to a little below the confluence of the Gomal and the Indus wherever it might have been situated in those days, with an arm extending eastward into Lyallpur district. Naturally, it would have also covered the whole of the modern Sind province*. Even after its disappearance from the south-western Pañjāb it covered almost the whole of that province† in the early days of the post-Ṛgvedic period as mentioned in the Mahābhārata[102], where Camasodbheda, the site of the confluence of the Sarasvatī and the Sindhu, in later days, is said to have been (once) situated at the sea-coast. Gradually it receded southward and was called the western sea in Indian literature, though it has now been named the Arabian sea in our geography text-books.

The Sarasvat Sea. This sea has been mentioned in several places[103]. Being the sea into which the most holy Sarasvatī river fell and being named after her, it was imagined as the husband of that river and its sisters, and deified by the *ṛśis*. But at a place it is said to possess waves[104] and is described as full of honey[105] and dripping butter[106]; terms often used to mean 'full of water' in the case of rivers. In the next verse it is described as having a swelling bosom worth seeing by all[107], just as river Sarasvatī is said to have a bosom[108]. At yet another place, it is said to be growing like a virile, young and strong male among ladies connected with sacrifices[109]. This in plain language means that the sea received the water of the rivers on the banks of which sacrifices were performed. The sacred river is called Yajñiyā [110] (connected with sacrifice) in other verses.

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* Now in Pakistan,

† *i. e.* Sind.

102. Vana parva LXXXVIII

103. *i. e.* in I-164-52, VII-95-3, & 96-4 to 6 and X-66-5.

104. ऊर्मंयो VII-96-5.

105. मधुमन्तो VII-96-5.

106. घृतश्चुत: VII-96-5.

107. पीपिवांसं सरस्वत: स्तनं यो विश्वदर्शंत: VII-96-6.

108. स्तन: I-164-49.

109. सवावृधे नर्यो योषणासु वृषा शिशुर्वृषभो यज्ञियासु VII-95-3.

110. यज्ञिया।

There can thus be no doubt that the Sarasvat sea was originally a huge collection of water into which the Sarasvatī and other holy streams fell. This sea, situated in the south of Sapta Saindhava between the Arvāvat sea in the east and the Parāvat sea in the west, was crossed by the Aśvins, followed by the sun, in their journey from east to west. This fact explains the use of plural instead of dual number[111] in connection with the movements of the Aśvins.

The memory of the remnants of this sea in post-Ṛgvedic ages is also retained in later Saṁskṛta literature. In the Rāmāyaṇa[112], Rāma Aikṣvāku is credited with having dried the sacred Drumakulya sea in the north, on the shores of which the Dasyu Ābhīras lived. From the Mahābhārata[113] the śūdra Ābhīras appears to be living near Vinaśana, where the Sarasvatī disappeared in the sands of the desert* *i.e.* somewhere about what is now Sūratgaḍh in Bīkāner district. The Drumakulya sea must have, therefore, been situated in the north-western parts of Bīkāner. As will be shown in its proper place, the last remnant of this sea, into which the Sarasvatī and the Śutudrī fell till some time before the days of Rāma Aikṣvāku, was situated in the north of Sūratgaḍh and Anūpgaḍh between 29°-30′ & 29°-45′ of latitude and 73°-15′ and 73°-45′ of longitude to the east of the Bīkāner-Bahāvalpur† boundary in that area. In the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas Kuvalayāśva Aikṣvāku (also known as Dhundhumāra) is said to have killed a Rākṣasa, Daitya or Asura named Dhundhu near a sand-filled sea called the Ujjālaka in the desert[114]. Dhundhār or Dhundahār is the ancient name of the modern Jaipur district. It is said to be the area where Dhundhu used to live and was killed[115]. The whole area both in the north and south of a line between Jaipur town and the lake of Sāmbhar is still dotted with many lakes and the northern ones are generally the salt water ones. The Ujjālaka would, therefore, be the name of the southern remnant of the Sarasvat sea situated about 27° of latitude and between 74° and 76° of longitude. The salt lakes of Sāmbhar, Sargoṭ,

111. सिन्धूनां in I-46-8 and अर्णांसि in I-180-1.
112. VI-XXII.
113. Śalya: XXXVII.
* This is explained in the chapter on rivers.
† now Indo-Pak.
114. Pargiter: *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 260.
115. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. II, p. 251.

Rivāsā, Kucāvan and Ḍīḍvānā etc. are its still surviving remnants, the remainder having been filled up with sand. The existence of this part of the Sarasvat sea is also recognised in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*[116].

Another remnant of the Sarasvat sea appears to be the Tṛṇabindu lake near the Kāmyaka forest at the head of the desert, mentioned in Mahābhārata[117] but not traceable in the Ṛgveda. The Pāṇḍavas are said to have gone there from the Dvaitavana lake and forest. The marshy area round Khaḍyāl (Ellenābād), in the south-west of Sirsā in the Hissār district currently known as Dhanur lake, is the only possible region which could now represent it, as it is situated on the western boundary of the ancient Kuru kingdom and on the north-eastern border of the desert. Till lately it used to be flooded by the water of the Ghaggar-Sarasvatī after rains, before that river could proceed any further. Now the river bed has been dammed at Oṭū and the controlled water is distributed by canals. But it still gets marshy after heavy rains.

There were, thus, three remnants of the Sarasvat sea when it ceased to exist as such at the close of the Ṛgvedic period, *viz.* the Drumakulya sea in the north, which got dried up about the times of Rāma Aikṣvāku, after the rivers joining it had changed their courses; the Tṛṇabindu or Dhanur lake in the north-east which has been reduced into a marsh with the decline of the Sarasvatī and its tributaries; and the Ujjālaka sea in the south which dried up in parts and got filled with sand. The rest of the Sarasvat sea is now represented by the lake of Sāmbhar, called the lake of Agastya in Mahābhārata[118], and other smaller salt lakes in that area.

The Sarasvat sea, thus, seems to have covered the present Rājasthāna desert extending over the sites of part of the modern Sirsā tehsīl and the modern Bīkāner, Jaisalmer, Jodhpur, a part of the Jaipur district and adjoining Pakistan desert comprising Bahāvalpur. It was very likely connected with the Parāvat sea in the west and north-west and it was very probably the combination of these two seas that was known as the ocean. The mention of deserts[119] in the Ṛgveda shows that these two seas or the oceans had begun to recede even in the Ṛgvedic days.

116. Vol. I, p. 38.
117. Vana parva. CCVIII.
118. Vana parva LXXXII.
119. धन्व (in plural number): 1-35-8; 2-33-10; 3-8-7; 4-33-7; 5-7-7; 6-12-5; 9-97-3; 10-86-20; 89-6; 187-2.

The Śaryaṇāvat Sea. Śaryaṇāvat is wrongly supposed to be the name of a lake in or near Kurukṣetra. The only evidence in support of this erroneous belief appears to be the statement of Sāyaṇa, who lived in southern India in comparatively recent days. He cannot be accepted as an authority. The sacred places in Kurukṣetra area are described in detail in Saṁskṛta literature but nowhere is the lake mentioned. A lake of that region is called Sannihati in Mahābhārata[121] and is said to be situated not far from Sthānuvaṭa. It is still known by the same name in the east of Thānesar town. But that name is not a corruption of Śaryaṇāvat as suggested by some modern archaeologists. It is a Saṁskṛta word meaning the 'site of union' of all the sacred spots which that lake is supposed to be according to Mahābhārata. There is, thus, no warrant to maintain that Śaryaṇāvat was the name of a lake in or on the skirts of Kurukṣetra.

As mentioned before, Śaryaṇāvat is associated with Parāvat and Arvāvat and Soma is said to be pressed on their shores[122]. The latter two having been proved to be the names of two seas, it is very likely that the former is also the designation of a sea. At one place[123] Indra is said to drink Soma on the (shore of the) Śaryaṇāvat while in another place[124], he is said to enjoy on the shores of Śaryaṇāvat. According to some verses[125], that deity lived or enjoyed himself on the shores of the Arvāvat and the Parāvat seas. The Śaryaṇāvat as used in the verses, in which Indra is said to drink Soma or enjoy it on its shores, was therefore very probably a sea too. This is confirmed by three verses. In one verse, Indra is said to have killed the enemies with his Vajra supposed to have been made from the bones of Dadhīci[126]. According to the next verse, Indra searching for the horse's head (of Dadhīci, *i. e.* his Vajra), which was cut off in the mountains, found it in Śaryaṇāvat[127]. In still another verse, the Vajra (of Indra) is described as lying in a sea full of water, the rivers bringing their waters to

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120. Mahābhārata, vana LXXXIII and Śalya XXXVII et seq.
121. Mahābhārata, vana LXXXIII.
122. IX-65-22. (See foot note 73).
123. शर्यंणावति सोममिन्द्रः पिबतु IX-113-1.
124. इन्द्रशर्यंणावति VIII-6-39.
125. VIII-12-17, 13-15, 82-1, & 97-4.
126. इन्द्रो दधीचो अस्थभिवृ॑त्राण्यप्रतिष्कुतः जघान नवतीर्नव I-84-13
127. इच्छन्नश्वस्य यच्छिरः पर्वतेष्वपपश्रितम्। तद्विदच्छर्यणावति॥ I-84-14.

it as their tribute[128]. Quite obviously the two last verses refer to the same fact and the Śaryaṇāvat of the one is the sea of the other, which received the water of many streams. The former verse also shows that the sea was situated at the foot of or amidst mountains, where the horse's head of Dadhīci was cut off and was thrown away and from where it was carried to the bottom of Śaryaṇāvat. In another verse[129], Śaryaṇāvat is associated with Suṣomā and Ārjīkīyā (both in feminine gender) and Soma is said to grow by them. In still another place mountains are described as belonging to Śaryaṇāvat[130]. As will be shown later on, the Suṣomā and Ārjīkīyā were Sohān and Hāro rivers of the northern Pañjāb. The Soma is generally recognised to have been a plant of very cold climate and mountainous regions. The verses, therefore, show that the Śaryaṇāvat sea was situated in northern Sapta Saindhava and amidst mountains near the regions of the Sohān and Hāro rivers. In one place, Śaryaṇāvat is associated with Suṣoma and Ārjīka (both in masculine gender and singular number) and all three are described as full of houses and being visited by men in carts with shorter front wheels[131]. All three appear to be the names of mountains, whose slopes and valleys were well populated and where visitors climbed up with their carts sloping forwards, so as to make it easier for the animals to draw them. The Suṣoma and the Ārjīka would, of course, be the mountains that gave rise to the rivers bearing their names in feminine gender, while the Śaryaṇāvat will be the mountains surrounding the sea of that name. The Ārjīka (in masculine gender and singular number, *i. e.* the mountain) is also mentioned [132] after the Śaryaṇāvat sea in the first verse, while the Ārjīkas (in masculine gender and plural number *i. e.* the tribe which lived on the slopes of the Ārjīka mountains and in the valley of the Ārjīkīyā river and gave their name to the two) as well as Kṛtvas, (probably another name of the Suṣomas living in the valley of Suṣomā river and on the slopes of Suṣoma mountains) are mentioned at a place after the

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128. समुद्रे अन्तःशयत उन्द्रा वज्रो अभीवृतः। भरन्त्यस्मै संयतः पुरः प्रस्रवणा बलिम्॥ VIII-100-9.

129. अयं ते शर्यणावति सुषोमायामधि प्रियः। आर्जीकीये मदिन्तमः VIII-64-11.

130. पर्वताञ्छर्यणावतः X-35-2.

131. सुषोमे शर्यणावत्यार्जीके पस्त्यावति। ययुर्निचक्रया नरः॥ VIII-7-29.

132. आ पवस्व दिशां पत आर्जीकात्सोम मीढ्वः। IX-113-2.

Śaryaṇāvat in the previous verse and all of them are associated with the Soma[133].

It is thus quite clear that Śaryaṇāvat was the name of a sea as well as of mountains on its shores or surrounding it. Both were situated in the northern Sapta Saindhava near the regions of the Suṣoma and the Ārjīka mountains and the Suṣomā and Ārjīkīyā (the Sohān and the Hāro) rivers. The mention of the former before the latter two, except in one place,[134] where Śaryaṇāvat mountain is mentioned between Suṣoma and Ārjīka mountains, suggests that the Śaryaṇāvat sea was situated to their east, *i.e.* to the east of the Murree and Abbotābād hills *

The only possible remnants of a sea amidst mountains in that area are the lakes of Kaśmīr now known as the Vūlar and Ḍal etc. The name Kaśmīr is said to be an abbreviation of Kaśyapa Mīra, *i.e.* the lake of Kaśyapa. According to local tradition the whole valley was at one time a huge lake, almost a sea, named Satīsara, which was burst at Bārāmulā by Śiva with his trident and drained. It was then populated by Kaśyapa, after whom it came to be called by that name (Nīlamata).

As far as I could trace, this legend is not mentioned or alluded to in the Ṛgveda, though the ṛṣis of the Kaśyapa clan are mentioned in, and in connection with, the hymns. As will be explained in due course, the probable event behind this legend took place at a later period. The Kaśmīr valley is drained by Jhelum river, whose Ṛgvedic name Vitastā (of the size of a span) suggests that it was a very small river in ancient days. The smallness of the river must be due to the fact that the gorge through which it comes out was shallower and narrower in those days and allowed a comparatively small quantity of water to flow out of the valley at a time. The Kaśmīr valley would then be a much larger lake of which the Vūlar and the Ḍal etc. are the last remnants. The so-called bursting and draining of the lake would really be due to some seismic disturbances, which resulted in the widening and deepening of the gorge through which the Vitastā came out, thus allowing a much larger quantity of water to drain away, increasing the size of the river and decreasing that of the lake. The tradition thus proves that the Kaśmīr valley was a large lake in early days.

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133. य आर्जीकेषु कृत्वसु ये मध्ये पस्त्यानाम्. IX-65-23.
134. (See footnote 131) VIII-7-29.
* in Pakistan.

There are verses[135] which indicate that, in the north of the salt range, the Indus river flowed more or less in the same channel in the Ṛgvedic days as at present. But one verse speaks of Indra having turned the water of the Sindhu upwards or northwards.[136] The Indus runs north-westwards only in the east of Kaśmīr to its confluence with the Gilgit river and no where else throughout its course. It could, therefore, be described as having been turned upwards or northwards only in the east of Kaśmīr. When the Sindhu did not run upwards, (*i.e.* northwards) it must have flowed westwards in its upper course and entered the Kaśmīr valley which it now skirts in the north-east. A small tributary of the Jhelum in Kaśmīr is still called Sindh (Sindhu) which joins that river from the north-east in the middle of the valley about ten miles below Śrīnagar. It is supposed to be the most sacred river of Kaśmīr and is described as the Gaṅgā of that valley. Its confluence with the Jhelum is supposed to be as holy as that of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā at Prayāga[137]. This small river has some history behind it. It rises in the east of Śrīnagar and the first part of the road to Leh is along its valley. Probably it was known to be the ancient course of the Indus below Leh till some seismic disturbances changed the configuration of the hills in its valley and made that river flow in a more northerly direction. This occurrence was naturally ascribed to Indra by the Ṛgvedic Āryas and was mentioned by Gṛtsamada Śaunaka-Bhārgava, a very ancient ṛṣi, in the verse referred to above. Before this event took place, Kaśmīr valley would have been receiving a much larger supply of water than it could discharge by the then very narrow and shallow gorge, through which the very small Vitastā came out. The Satīsara or Kaśmīr would then be a very big lake, in fact a sea, surrounded by hills on almost all sides in the earliest period of the Ṛgvedic age. It must have remained very large, receiving the water of the various hill currents as mentioned at one place[138], even after the Sindhu (Indus) changed its course, as only a small amount of water ran out through the narrow gorge of the Vitastā; till at some later period this gorge got widened and deepened by seismic distur-

135. X-75-6 & 64-9, VIII-26-18 & 20-25, V-53-9, and I-186-5 & 122-6.
136. सोदञ्चं सिन्धुमरिणात् II-15-6.
137. Vaidya : *History of Medieval Hindu India*, vol. I, p. 238.
138. *i. e.* VIII-100-9 (See footnote 128).

bances, described as the bursting of the Satīsara in the Nīlamata, which allowed much larger quantities of water to drain away, and making it fit for human habitation in due course.

The description of the Śaryaṇāvat, as given in the verse referred to above, fits in with Satīsara or Kaśmīr of later days perfectly. It was, therefore, this large lake or sea occupying the valley of Kaśmīr, that was known as the Śaryaṇāvat in Ṛgvedic days. It is very likely, this sea known in the Avesta as the Vouru Kaśa, and stretching towards the south from the foot of the holy mountain the Hara Berezaiti, Haraiti or Hara (probably the Haramukha of Kaśmīr), where Ahur Mazdā dwelt in the shining Garonmāna and where the white Haoma (Soma) or Gaokrena grew. It seems that, after being turned out of the valley of the Yamunā, the Yamas or Yimas, the ancestors of the Avestic Āryas (Irānians), settled in the north of Kaśmīr Valley. On account of this fact Dadhīci Ātharvaṇa was killed there and his head was found in the Śaryaṇāvat sea.

It may be added that the tradition of the four seas round the ancient home of the Āryas has been carried on in the story of Duśyanta and Śakuntalā in the Mahābhārata.[139] Śakuntalā, the rejected queen, warns her forgetful husband that their son (Bharata) will become the ruler of the country surrounded by the four seas and adorned with the king of mountains (Himālayas) after the death of his father, though disclaimed by him. The memories of these four seas has also been retained in the Kurukṣetra area by naming four tanks situated near the Aruṇā-Sarasvatī saṅgam between Pehoā and Urṇāi as the four seas[140]. They are said to have been brought there by a Darbhi. This means that it was he who gave them that name and that they were not called by that name in earlier days. He must have, therefore, done so to retain the memory of the four seas after they had disappeared.

139. Ādi parva LXXIV.
140. *Mahābhārata*, Vana parva LXXXIII and *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XIV, 102-103.

2

THE MOUNTAINS

The mountains[1] and hills[2] are frequently mentioned. The snow-clad ones are also mentioned[3]. But so far as I could trace, the only ones mentioned by special names are those situated in the north, where the Soma plant grew in profusion and at its best.

The Śaryaṇāvat Mountains. These are mentioned in some verses[4], which have already been quoted in connection with the sea of the same name. They were apparently the mountains which surrounded that sea *i.e.*, those surrounding the Kaśmīr valley of modern times.

The Suṣoma Mountains. They are mentioned in a verse[5] quoted before and should be those which gave rise to Suṣomā, *i.e.*, the modern Sohān river. This river rises in the Marī (Murree) hills to the south of the town of the same name. Suṣoma would, therefore, be the name of the range to the south of Marī and west of the Jhelum Valley.

The Ārjīka Mountains. These, too, are mentioned in a verse[6] after the above two ranges and in another[7] after the mention of the Śaryaṇāvat sea in previous verse. They were the mountains that gave rise to the Ārjīkīyā *i.e.* the Hāro river of modern times. This river rises in the mountains north of Marī. Ārjīka would, therefore, be the designation of the mountains in the north of that town.

According to some verses, all these three ranges were inhabited[8] and

1. पर्वत.
2. गिरि.
3. हिमवन्त: X-121-4.
4. *viz.* VIII-7-29, I-84-14 and X-35-2.
5. VIII-7-29. (See footnote 131).
6. VIII-7-29. (See footnote 131).
7. IX-113-2. (See Chapter 1, footnote 132).
8. पस्त्यानाम् IX-65-23.

visited by people in carts with lower front wheels,[9] probably to fetch Soma which grew over them in profusion as indicated by many verses.[10]

The Mūjavat Mountains. In one verse Soma of Mūjavat is praised.[11] The Ṛgveda does not show where they were situated. But in Atharvaveda[12], a tribe called the Mūjavats, who apparently gave their name to the mountains, are mentioned in association with the Mahāvṛṣas and Gāndhārīs and on this side of the Bahlikas. I am unable to locate the Mahāvṛṣas on independent authority, but the Gāndhārīs are acknowledged to have lived between the Jhelum river and the Sulemān ranges on both sides of the Indus in early days, *i.e.* before they were pushed further west, first to the other side of the Indus and then across the Sulemān mountains into the modern district of Kandhār in Afghanistan. The Bahlikas are said to have lived to the north-west of the Hindūkush range round the modern Balkh (Bactria). The Mūjavats would, thus, be living on the south-eastern slopes of the Hindūkush, which would, therefore, be the Mūjavat mountains.

The Sulemān ranges. The mountain ranges extending from the Mūjavat to the Parāvat sea do not appear to be mentioned by a proper name. The fact that most of the rivers coming out of them to join the Sindhu are mentioned by names[13], proves that the Sulemān ranges too must have been known. Quite likely, the original name of the range was Sīlamān, derived from the same source from which the Sindhu got one of its epithets *viz.* the Sīlamāvatī and which got corrupt into Sulemān through the Muslim conquerors. These are probably the same ranges which are called Ādarśa in the old manuscripts of Vāsiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra[14] and described as the western boundary of Āryāvarta, though the word is changed in later manuscripts into Adarśana, also known as Vinaśana, *i.e.* the place where the Sarasvatī disappeared in the sands of Rājasthāna desert.

The Salt Range. This range of the northern Pañjāb, in spite of being a noteworthy feature of the region, is apparently not mentioned in the Ṛgveda. The fact that the Ārjīkīyā (Hāro) united with the Suṣomā

9. ययुर्निचक्रया नरः VIII-7-29.
10. VIII-64-11 and other verses already quoted.
11. सोमस्येव मौजवतस्य X-34-1.
12. V-XXII-5, 7, 8 & 14.
13. X-75-6, V-53-9 and VIII-19-37, 24-30, & 26-18-
14. I-8.

(Sohān) is shown as an independent river[15] like the Gaṅgā and other big rivers indicates that the salt range was not what it is now. It was very probably raised up by the same forces which upheaved the bed of the Parāvat sea. Its Greek name, Oromenus[16], shows that in later days it was known as Rauma Range, *i.e.* pertaining to Ruśamas, a tribe mentioned in Ṛgveda[17].

The Himālayas. The Ṛgvedic ṛṣis must have known the Himālayas between the Śaryaṇāvat and the sources of the Gaṅgā. But there appears to be no mention of a special name denoting them or any part of them in the verses. The word 'Himavantas'[18] appears with the words ocean (*samudra*) and Rasā (the land or plains), and they are all described as possessions of the Supreme Being[19]. Therefore, the word 'Himavantas' means all snow-clad (high) mountains in general rather than any special group of mountains. In this sense only this word could be placed side by side with the ocean and the plains in general as the property of the Almighty.

The Northern Pāriyātras, Arbudāvalī or Arāvalī Range. These ranges stretching from Khetaḍī in Rājasthāna through the Nārnaul, Bāval and Gurgāon areas of Pañjāb and the Alwar and Jaipur districts of Rājasthāna to the north of Delhi and between the Sarasvat sea in the south-west and the Yamunā in the north-east, are also not mentioned by any proper name in the Ṛk verses. But, as will be explained elsewhere, they must be the mountains in the caves of which the Paṇis (the followers of Vala) hid their own hoarded wealth and booty including the stolen cows of the Aṅgirases.[20] The legend of Agastya's suppressing the growth of Vindhyas (which included the northern Pāriyātras) in the epics and the Purāṇas shows that in ancient days they were high mountains as mentioned in many verses,[21] in connection with the battle between the Indra-worshipping Aṅgirases and the Vala-worshipping Paṇis. This legend is nowhere alluded to in the Ṛgveda, but is described in full detail in the later literature. The seismic

15. आर्जीकीये श्रृणुह्या सुषोमया, (The former in the vocative and the latter in the instrumental case) X-75-5.
16. Cunningham : *Ancient Geography of India*, map no. V.
17. V-30-12 to 15 and VIII-3-12 & 4-2.
18. हिमवन्त.
19. यस्येमे हिमवन्तो महित्वा यस्य समुद्रं रसया सहाहुः X-121-4.
20. X-108 and many other verses.
21. अद्रि in I-62-3, पर्वत in II-15-8, अद्रि in V-39-2 and सानु in V-39-2.

disturbances which disturbed them, must have, therefore, taken place at the end of the Ṛgvedic period and they must have been high mountains in that age and not hills as they are now. The fact that they prevented the Āryas from migrating south-eastwards in the Ṛgvedic age also points to the same conclusion. According to the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* 'the Arāvalī range, as it exists at present, is but the wreck of what must have been in former days a lofty chain of mountains, reduced to their present dimensions by subaerial denudation.'

With the existence of the Sarasvat and Arvāvat seas on either sides the rainfall in these mountains would have been far larger. Very probably their high peaks remained covered with snow for a good part, if not the whole, of the year, in ancient days and the rivers rising from them must have been perennial and fairly large.

3

THE DESERTS

The Ṛk verses speak of deserts[1] in plural number. One verse speaks of three desert regions[2] together with eight points (*i.e.* directions) of the earth and seven rivers, thus indicating that there were in all three deserts in the country. There are references like 'passing over deserts'[3], 'Parjanya made the deserts passable'[4], 'like water brought to a man in the desert'[5], 'overcame by thirst in the desert'[6], 'bless us in paths and deserts'[7], 'how many leagues is the desert?'[8] etc., which show that men used to travel through deserts. In a verse rivers are said to cut their paths through deserts[9]. These references show that the deserts were not very vast ones and were frequently crossed and the rivers cut their way through them to the sea or seas. In another verse, Agni is said to shine from the Parāvat sea across the desert[10]. It shows that one of the deserts was situated near that sea. Through this desert rivers like the Sindhu, the Ārjīkīyā and the Marudvṛdhā cut their way.

The other two deserts cannot be definitely located, but very likely they were situated in the north and the east of the Sarasvat sea respectively through which the Paruṣṇī, the Vipāś and the Śutudrī on the one hand

1. धन्व।
2. त्री धन्व योजना I-35-8.
3. धन्वेव ताँ इहि III-45-1.
4. अकर्धन्वान्यत्येतवा उ V-83-10.
5. जनं न धन्वन्नभिसं यदाप: VI-34-4.
6. धन्वन्न तृष्णा समरीत IX-79-3.
7. स्वस्ति न: पथ्यासु धन्वसु X-63-15.
8. धन्व च यत्कृन्तत्रं च कति स्वित्ता वि योजना X-86-20.
9. धन्वर्णसो नद्य: खादोअर्णा: V-45-2.
10. य: परस्या: परावतस्तिरो धन्वातिरोचते X-187-2.

and the Vīrapatnī, the Sarayu, the Sarasvatī, the Āpayā and the Dṛṣadvatī on the other cut their way. It would thus seem that the Parāvat and the Sarasvat seas, *i.e.* the ocean, had begun to recede south-westward even in the Ṛgvedic days.

There also are verses which probably refer to springs or wells in the deserts through the expressions like 'the beasts seeking their watery shares in waters in the deserts'[11] and 'like a watering place in a desert'[12]. On the other hand, there are expressions like 'deserts got flooded and water flowed'[13], 'Indra inundated thirsty desert plains'[14], 'plants spread over deserts'[15], 'rain falls over deserts'[16] etc. which show that there was a good amount of rainfall even over the desert regions unlike the modern times. This must have been the result of the seas in the neighbourhood.

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11. अप्यमप्सु भागं धन्वान्वा मृगयसो II-38-7.
12. धन्वन्निव प्रपा X-4-1.
13. आर्दन्धन्वानि सरयन्त आप: IV-17-2.
14. धन्वान्यज्राँ अपृणक्तृषाणाँ IV-19-7.
15. धन्वातिष्ठन्नोषधी: IV-33-7.
16. अनु धन्वना यन्ति वृष्टय: V-53-6.

4

PLACES

Out of the remaining, the most important geographical features are, of course, the rivers. But it is advisable to discuss and identify a few places mentioned by proper names in the Ṛgveda before taking up rivers.

The Mānuṣa and the Ilāyāspada. A verse says that Devavāta Bhārata, on an auspicious day[1], placed Agni on Ilāyāspada, the best spot on the earth. Ilāyāspada, also called Ilāspada or Ilaspada in other verses, is again associated with Mānuṣa[2] and is mentioned by itself in many places[3]. In the first verse, the benevolent Agni is said to have been established in the circle *i. e.* in the district of Mānuṣa[4] and the oblations offered at Mānuṣa and Ilāspada are said to be his[5]. The first verse of the hymn speaks of Agni sitting fast at Ilaspada[6]. Another verse[7] speaks of the people of Viśvāmitra (the ṛṣi of the hymn) *i. e.* the Bharatas having placed Agni at Ilāyāspada which is said to be the navel (*i. e.* the centre) of the Earth[8]. Other verses also describe Ilāspada or Ilāyāspada as the chief place where the Agni was worshipped[9]. There is another verse which, by speaking of the Bhṛgus having brought Agni to the central point of the Earth

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1. रेवदग्ने दिदीहि ।। III-23-4. (See Chapter I, footnote 87).
2. I-128-7.
3. *e. g.* I-128-1, III-29-4 and X-91-1 & 4.
4. मानुषे वृजने I-128-7.
5. स हव्या मानुषाणामिलाकृतानि पत्यते 1-128-7.
6. नि षददिलस्पदे परिवीत 1-128-1.
7. *i. e.* III-29-4.
8. इलायास्त्वा पदे वयं नाभा पृथिव्या अधि III-29-4.
9. इध्यते दमे दमूना इषयन्निलस्पदे X-91-1 and तव योनिमृत्वियमिलायास्पदे X-91-4.

and the centre of the world[10], obviously refers to the same place. It must apparently be the same place which is described as the navel of the Earth[11] and as the choicest or the best spot on the Earth[12], where Sudās Tṛtsu is said to have performed his horse sacrifice after conquering his enemies in the east, west and north in the last verse. Scholars, who did not care to consult later and local traditions, have taken it to mean sacrificial altar, without pausing to think how an altar, which might be built anywhere, could be described as the navel of, or the best spot on the Earth. Das identifies a region (which he calls Ilā, but by which he means Ilāyāspada[13]), with Kaśmīr on the strength of the story of Manu's flood. But the story describes Ilā not as a region or a place but as a damsel who called herself the daughter of Manu.

A little consideration would prove that the Manu and Ilā of the Śatapatha story of the flood could not possibly be Manu (the father, *i.e.* the first regular king according to many verses) and Ilā (the first queen of Manuṣas[14]) who lived in the earliest known days of the Ṛgvedic period which closed, and not opened with the flood. Besides, the Ṛk verses do not show Ilā as the daughter of Manu. On the other hand, she is said to be 'of Dakṣa'[15] (*i. e.* probably the daughter of Dakṣa). Obviously the Manu and Ilā of the story are figurative persons, representing the manhood and womanhood of the flooded country through the founders of their most important ruling dynasties *viz.* the Mānavas and the Ailas. The Ilā of the Śatapatha could not, therefore, have any connection with the Ilā or Ilāyāspada of the Ṛgveda.

Mānuṣa has fared worse at the hands of scholars. They have translated it literally but without getting any sense out of it and altering the sense for the worse. The verse, in which it is prominently used[16], clearly shows that the district and, therefore, the town called Mānuṣa and the place named Ilāyāspada were situated in the regions of Dṛṣadvatī, the Āpayā

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10. यमेरिरो भृगवो विश्ववेदसं नाभा पृथिव्या भुवनस्य मज्मना I-143-4.
11. अधि नाभा पृथिव्याः III-5-9 and IX-86-8.
12. वर आ पृथिव्याः III-53-11.
13. III-23-4 quoted by Das in *Ṛgvedic India* 59 & 69.
14. इलामकृण्वन्मनुषस्य शासनीं I-31-11.
15. दक्षस्येला III-27-10.
16. As mentioned in III-23-4. (see Chapter 1, footnote 87).

and the Sarasvatī, while this and another verse[17] show that the latter was situated in the circle or district of the former. Mahābhārata[18] describes these two places in the holy Kurukṣetra area and shows them exactly in the same regions as mentioned in Ṛgveda[19].

A pilgrim going southwards from the Sarasvatī and Sītavana (Sīvan) passed through Mānuṣa. Āpagā (*i. e.* the Ṛgvedic Āpaya), Krośā (east of Mānuṣa), Brahmodumbara (having the tank of Saptarṣis), Kedāra (of Kapilā), Kedāra (of Kapiṣṭhala), Saraka (with Rudra Koṭi) and Kūpa (or Kuṇḍa) and Ilāspada. Out of these above mentioned places Mānuṣa (now a village called Mānas) is situated 3½ miles north-west of Kaithal; the Āpayā or Āpagā tīrtha is still recognised at Gadlī (Gadhlī of maps and Godlī of Cunningham), between Mānas and Kaithal, Brahmodumbara (with the Saptarṣi tank) and Kedāra (of Kapilā) at Silokheḍā two miles south-west of Kaithal; Kedāra (of Kapiṣṭhala) is identified with Kaithal and Saraka (having Rudra Koṭi), Kūpa (Kuṇḍa as well as Ilāspada) with Śergaḍh two miles to the south-east of Kaithal, in Karnāl district[20]. Mānuṣa and Ilāspada were thus situated on the right and left sides of the Āpayā about 5½ miles apart and in the tract between the Dṛṣadvatī and the Sarasvatī. The Mānuṣa, mentioned in the Mahābhārata is only a town or village, with a pond near it, in which people bathe to gain religious merit. The district of Mānuṣa[21] would naturally include the area round about that town or village, *i. e.* between the middle courses of the Dṛṣadvatī and the Sarasvatī, almost in centre. The Mānuṣa town and the Ilāspada of the Ṛgveda were, therefore, and still are, situated in the south-eastern Sapta Saindhava between these two rivers (the former now represented by the Hānsi-Hisār branch of the western Yamunā canal) and on the two sides of the (now defunct) Āpayā; while the district of Mānuṣa included the middle parts of the valleys of these three rivers and later on came to be known as Brahmāvarta and Kurukṣetra.

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17. स मानुषे वृजने शंतमो हितोग्निर्यज्ञेषुजेन्यो न विश्पतिः प्रियो यज्ञेषु विश्पतिः। स हव्या मानुषाणामिला कृतानि पत्यते। स नस्त्रासते वरुणस्य धूर्तेर्महो देवस्य धूर्तेः॥ I-128-7.
18. Vana parva LXXXIII.
19. III-23-4. (see Chapter 1, footnote 87).
20. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XIV, pp. 100 & 104 and other literature on Kurukṣetra.
21. मानुष वृजन।

Mānuṣa of Ṛgveda must have got its name from Manu (also known as Manuṣa), the first known regular king of the Ṛgvedic age. Obviously Manu must have founded the town of Mānuṣa and lived there as the king of the district [22] of that name.

Ilāspada, similarly, must have got its name from Ilā, the first known ancestress of the so-called Lunar dynasties. In the Mahābhārata period it was the name of a sacred site. It is so at present also. But, originally it must have been a town as it seems to have become the capital of the Bharatas later on. The town came to be known first as Saraka and then Śergaḍh.

Vivasvat Sadana. There are verses which speak of 'Indra being praised[23] or finding pleasure in the 'dwelling place of Vivasvat'[24] while others mention Agni and other devas being established at the same place[25]. According to its first verse[26], verses in the X-75 were first recited in the 'dwelling place of Vivasvat'[27]. It should be noted that the same expression 'Vivasvat Sadana' is used in all the five verses. It is, therefore, very likely that like Mānuṣa and Ilāspada it was the name of even an earlier town founded by Vivasvat, the father of Manu. Unfortunately there is no mention of it in the later literature. The place called 'Sūrya' between Kapilā and Go-bhavana in the Mahābhārata[28] and still recognised at Sañjanā between Kalāyat and Gohanā about ten miles south-west from Kaithal may or may not represent the same site; Vivasvat (the Ṛgvedic chief) being mixed up with the 'Sūrya' (the sun) in mythology. There are verses[29] which, when read together, show that Agni was first established by Mātariśvan Bhārgava for Vivasvat at the 'Navel of the Earth' and the 'Centre of the World', *i.e.* the place which came to be known as Ilāspada later on. It is, therefore, more likely that 'Vivasvat Sadana' was the earlier name of Ilāspada and hence its omission in the later literature.

22. वृजन।
23. गिर इन्द्राय सदने विवस्वत: I-53-1, and विवस्वत: सदने अस्य तानि विप्रा उक्थेभि: कवयो गृणन्ति III-34-7.
24. विवस्वत: सदन आ हि पिप्रिये सत्रासाहमभिमातिहनं स्तुहि III-51-3.
25. यस्मिन्देवा विदथे मादयन्ते विवस्वत: सदने धारयन्ते X-12-7.
26. *i. e.* X-75-1.
27. वोचाति सदने विवस्वत: X-75-1.
28. Vana parva LXXXIII.
29. I-143-4 as quoted in footnote 10 and त्वमग्ने प्रथमो मातरिश्वन आविर्भव सुक्रतूया विवस्वते I-31-3.

Bhāratī. The Āprī hymns[30] of the various clans of the Brāhmaṇas speak of three Devīs named Bhāratī, also known as Mahī (the Great), Ilā and Sarasvatī. Scholars like Pischel have held that Mahī was a separate Devī, independent of Bhāratī. But it is clear from a hymn[31] that Mahī and Bhāratī were the names of one and the same Devī. The ṛṣi mentions all the four names but he describes them as the 'three Devīs'[32]. There are hymns which omit Bhāratī but mention Mahī[33]. This suggests that the latter must be another name of the former, and must have been used as an epithet and not as the name of the fourth Devī in other hymns[34]. Bhāratī is given the first place by the Jamadagnis (original Bhṛgus), the Aṅgirases, the Vasiṣṭhas, the Kaśyapas, the Agastyas and the Viśvāmitras (or Kuśikas) and the last place by Śunakas (adopted Bhṛgus), the Atris and the Kaṇvas (adopted Aṅgirases), while the Vadhryaśvas (originally Bharatas but adopted amongst Bhṛgus) do not mention her by name. Ilā is given the place of honour by the Atris and the Kaṇvas, the second place by the Jamadagnis, the Śunakas, the Aṅgirases, the Vasiṣṭhas, the Agastyas and the Viśvāmitras, the third place by the Kaśyapas and is the only one mentioned by name by the Vadhryaśvas. Sarasvatī is accorded the first place by the Śunakas, the second by the Kaśyapas, the Atris and the Kaṇvas, the last by the Jamadagnis, the Aṅgirases, the Vasiṣṭhas, the Agastyas and the Viśvāmitras; and is not mentioned by name by the Vadhryaśvas. Though the Vadhryaśvas mention only Ilā by name, yet they too address all the three Devīs[35]. Their being Bharatas by origin may have something to do with the solitary exception from the rule. From the above it is clear that Bhāratī was the most important of these three Devīs. She is also mentioned in some other verses[35A] with Ilā, Sarasvatī and other Devas and Devīs, and is said to be hundred winters old[36A]. The

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30. I-13, 142 & 188, II-3, III-4, V-5, VIII-2, IX-5 and X-70 & 110.
31. *i. e.* IX-5.
32. तिस्रो देवीः ।
33. I-13 and V-5.
34. *i. e.* in I-142 and IX-5.
35. तिस्रो देवीर् । (See footnote 37)
35 A. *i.e.* I-22-10 and II-1-11.
36. शतहिमा in I-22-10 and II-1-11.
36 A. III-62-3

three Devis mentioned in one verse[37] and three ladies of waters in another[38], are also supposed to be the same three deities.

The most ancient place held sacred to Bhāratī and called after her is the Bhāratī tīrtha of Kopar or Koer in the middle of Kurukṣetra, 22 miles east of Kaithal and 12 miles south-south-west of Thānesar. Cunningham has mentioned Pañch Tīrthī (five holy spots) at Kopar[39] but has not given their details. Bhāratī tīrtha is one of them.

If the interpretation of the verse[40] as given by scholars is correct, it would appear that Bhāratī, Ilā and Sarasvatī were connected with collections of water. The place held sacred to Bhāratī at Kopar and to Ilā at Ilāspada in Śergaḍh are connected with bathing places, while Sarasvatī is the deified river. Thus the description of these Devīs as given in this verse fits in with the sites still held sacred to them.

Obviously Bhāratī was the household Devī[41] of the Bharatas and her location at Kopar indicates their origin from that place.

Ilā. Ilā, apparently the household Devī of the Ailas (including the Yadus, the Turvaśas (or Turvaśus), the Anus, the Druhyus, the Pūrus and their offshoots), would naturally be located at Ilāspada described above and not in Kaśmīr, as suggested by Das. It may be added that, as already shown, Kaśmīr valley was occupied by Śaryaṇāvat sea in the Ṛgvedic age.

Sarasvatī. Sarasvatī would be somewhere on the banks of the river of that name, probably in its upper valley near the Guṅgū, the Sinīvālī, the Rākā and the Bṛhaddivā, prayed to by Gṛtsamada Śaunuka[42] and Atri[43]. The site sacred to her might have been probably located at Sārasvata (*i.e.* of Sarasvatī) in the north-east of Thānesar, as Sarasvatī is said to have performed austerities there[44]. She was, very likely, the household Devī of all the leading families of the Sarasvatī basin excepting the Bharatas and Ailas.

37. तिस्रो देवीर् II-35-5.
38. योषणास्तिस्रो अप्या III-56-5.
39. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XIV, p. 100.
40. त्री षधस्था सिन्धवस्त्रिः कवीनामुत त्रिमाता विदथेषु सम्राट्।
ऋतावरीर्योषणा-स्तिस्रो अप्यास्त्रिरा दिवो विदथे पत्यमानाः ॥ III-56-5.
41. कुलदेवी।
42. II-32.
43. V-42.
44. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XIV, p. 106.

The household Devīs of the ruling families would naturally become the tribal Devīs of the tribes ruled over by the families. That could be the only possible cause of their being prayed to in the Āprī hymns of the various clans of the Brāhmaṇas. It may be added that the two other 'adopted' Bhṛgus *viz.* the Vainyas and Vaitahavyas and all the 'adopted' Aṅgirases with the exception of the Kaṇvas accept the two hymns respectively as their Āprī hymns[45]. All the Brāhmaṇas of the whole of India pray to the three tribal Devīs of the south-eastern Sapta Saindhava only. The Devīs of the other parts of the country are not mentioned in the Āprī hymns. They are not even traceable in the existing verses. This shows that all the Brāhmaṇas of India, who claim to be the members of one or the other of these 18 clans, must have originated from the Sarasvatī basin. This in its turn proves that the scholars who hold that what they suppose to be the oldest maṇḍalas (*viz.* the family maṇḍalas from II to VII) were composed in the north-west, are absolutely wrong; unless it is proved that all the Āprī hymns are of such a late origin that the descendants of the emigrants had completely forgotten all about the movements of their ancestors when they were composed. It may be added that these hymns are ascribed to very early ancestors of the various clans, those of the Vasiṣṭhas, Agastyas, and Viśvāmitras to the original founders and of the majority of the Bhṛgus[46] to Jamadagni and his son Rāma, the former of whom is mentioned by Viśvāmitra[47] and by Vasiṣṭha[48] in two of the family books.

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45. *i. e.* X-110 and I-142.
46. *viz.* X-110.
47. III-53-15 & 62-18.
48. *i. e.* in VII-96-3.

5

THE RIVERS

The best mentioned features of the country are rivers. A large number of them are mentioned by special names.

In one verse the ṛṣi Agastya, whose progeny provided the most adventurous explorers in later days, speaks of ninety-nine rivers and claims to have secured the names of all of them[1]. But unfortunately he does not mention them, nor are they enumerated anywhere else. The ṛṣi of another verse also speaks of ninty-nine flowing rivers[2]. In a verse Gotama Rāhugaṇa Āṅgiras speaks of about ninety navigable rivers[3], but he too does not enumerate them. In another verse Agastya first probably speaks of twenty one beautiful rivers[4] and then of seven main rivers[5]. Sindhukṣit Praiyamedha speaks of twenty-eight rivers[6], of which Sindhu is said to be the mightiest. But, here again, the hymn, as it is, gives only nineteen names including the Sindhu and even if the two rivers, mentioned in a spurious verse interpolated between the fifth and the sixth verses in some manuscripts, be added, the number remains twenty-one. Some scholars have tried to read seven more names in the seventh and eighth verses. But a careful study of the verses shows that words, which have been taken to be the names of the rivers, are either descriptive adjectives or the local epithets of the Sindhu which is the river praised in them. In certain other verses the ṛṣis speak

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1. नवानां नवतीनां विषस्य रोपुषीणाम् । सर्वासामग्रभं नामारे I-191-13.
2. नव च यन्नवतिं च स्रवन्ती: I-32-14.
3. नवतिं नाव्या अनु I-80-8.
4. त्रि सप्त मयूर्य: (literally twenty-one peahens) I-191-14.
5. सप्त स्वसारो (literally seven sisters) 1-191-14.
6. सप्तसप्त त्रेधा X-75-1.

of twenty-one rivers[7], but they, too, do not supply the names of all of them. The most frequently used term is, however, 'the Seven Rivers'.[8]

It would thus appear that among the ninety-nine rivers, twenty-eight or twenty-one were fairly large. Among these seven were main. It is on account of its seven main rivers that the country had been called Sapta Saindhava (Avestic Hapta Hendava). Unfortunately the names of these seven rivers are nowhere clearly stated. Scholars have, of course, made guesses about them; but, curiously enough, without seeking the help of either the Ṛgveda itself or later literature. Many of them thought that they were the five present rivers of the Pañjāb and the Indus and the Sarasvatī. Others, probably too much obsessed with the theory of the Ārya invasion from the north-west and unable to conceive that the now very insignificant Sarasvatī could ever have been big enough to deserve that honour, have substituted the Kubhā in its place and have suggested that the mighty Sarasvatī of the Ṛgveda was either the Sindhu or some other large river. Had they cared to know the size of the Sarasvatī either from the Mahābhārata or from the old beds of the river itself, they would have realised how palpably wrong they were. In fact Sarasvatī was a much bigger and far more important river of the country than the Kubhā and there is no justification to replace it by the latter with an ominous name among the seven most important rivers of the country. As will be explained below, a verse[9] shows the Vitastā (the Jhelum) and the Asiknī (which will be identified in its proper place with the modern Aik) as the tributaries of the Marudvṛdhā (the Cenāb) and the Paruṣṇī (the Rāvī) as that of the Śutudrī (the Satluj). The Biās (the Ṛgvedic Vipāś) is not at all mentioned in that verse and its identification with the Ārjīkīyā is incorrect and un-

7. त्रिरश्विना सिन्धुभिः सप्तमातृभिः I-34-8, सिन्धुभ्यो त्रिः सप्त, IX-86-21 and त्रिः सप्त सस्रा नद्यो X-64-8.

8. *i. e.* सप्त सिन्धून्, सिन्धुभिः, सप्तसिन्धून्ः, सप्त यह्वीः, नद्यः सप्त, सप्त स्वसारः, सप्तशिवासु मातृषु, सप्तवहन्ति, सप्त विस्रुहः, सप्त स्रवतो, सप्त सिन्धुषु, सप्तसिन्धवः, माता......सप्तसिन्धव, and सप्त आपो etc. in I-32-12, 34-8, 35-8, 71-7, 102-2, 141-2, 164-3, 191-14; II-12-3; III-1-4; IV-28-1; V-43-1, VI-7-6; VII-18-24 and 67-8; VIII-24-27, 41-2 & 9, 69-12, & 96-1; IX-66-6 and 92-4 and X-43-3, 49-9, 67-12 and 104-8.

9. इमं मे गंगे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि स्तोमं सचता परुष्ण्या। असिक्नया मरुद्वृधे वितस्त-यार्जीकीये शृणुह्या सुषोमया।। X-75-5.

warranted, in spite of Yāska. In any case, some verses[10] show it as a tributary of the Satluj. Thus out of the modern five large rivers of the Pañjāb three *viz.* the Biās, the Rāvī and the Jhelum were not the main rivers but mere tributaries. Besides, the Vitastā (Jhelum) was probably a very small river in the Ṛgvedic age as indicated by its name. One verse speaks of seven regions of the Earth[11], and another of seven regions[12]. In still another verse Nābhāka Kāṇva, probably a ṛṣi of the later period of the Ṛgvedic age after the Mānava Bharatas had established their suzerainty over the whole of Sapta Saindhava, mentions seven Mānuṣas of the rivers of the world[13]. In yet another verse Indra claims to have the 'Seven Rivers' as his special domain, though he lorded over all the rivers of the Earth[14]. It may be that the Ṛgvedic ṛṣis had some knowledge of the world outside their own country 'of Seven Rivers' and imagined it to be divided into seven countries occupied by seven different nations ruled by the descendants of Manu like the seven dominions (Karśvairya) of the Avesta. But very probably they got this idea of dividing the world into seven countries from the fact that their own land was divided into seven geographical divisions by the seven main rivers. It may also be that the high-sounding 'Viśva' and 'Pṛthivī' in fact meant their own country and the rivers meant the rivers—other than the main seven—of their own country[15]. Be as it may, in both cases the seven main rivers were very probably independent rivers running from the mountains like the Sarasvatī[16] and Śutudrī[17] direct to the sea[18] through the whole breadth of the country dividing it into seven physical divisions and seven groups of peoples. This is further supported by the expression 'the seven rivers going to the

10. III-33 and others.
11. पृथिव्या: सप्त धामभि: I-22-16.
12. सप्त धामानि X-122-3.
13. सप्तमानुषः श्रितो विश्वेषु सिन्धुषु VIII-39-8.
14. अहं सप्त स्रवतो धारयं वृषा द्रवित्न्वः पृथिव्यां सीरा अधि X-49-9.
15. As the expression पृथिव्यां सीरा indicates.
16. एकाचेतत्सरस्वती नदीनां शुचिर्यती गिरिभ्य आ समुद्रात्। रायश्चेतन्ती भुवनस्य भूरेर्घृतं पयो दुदुहे नाहुषाय ।। VII-95-2.
17. इन्द्रेषिते प्रसवं भिक्षमाणे अच्छा समुद्रं रथ्येव याथः। समाराणे ऊर्मिभिः पिन्वमाने अन्या वामन्यामप्येति शुभ्रे ।। III-33-2.
18. समुद्र।

Ocean'[19]. As already suggested, there are verses[20] which probably also express the same idea though they do not mention the number 'Seven'. The seven main rivers were, thus, independent ones, falling directly into the seas and not tributaries of other rivers. Three of the five modern rivers of the Pañjāb could not, therefore, have been among the seven main rivers.

A verse reads 'O! Gaṅgā, O! Yamunā, O! Sarasvatī, O! Śutudrī with the Paruṣṇī accept my laud. O! Marudvṛdhā with the Asiknī and the Vitastā and O! Ārjīkīyā with the Suṣomā listen'.[21] Scholars have for some unknown reasons read the Paruṣṇī in the vocative case, but the expression used is Paruṣṇyā in the instrumental and not in vocative case. Besides, there is the evidence of an old bed (to be described in its proper place) which indicates that Paruṣṇī was at one time a tributary of the Śutudrī. There is thus no reason to mistranslate the expression. The verse following the above mentioned one is addressed to the Sindhu[22], which is described as going forward to unite with several other rivers one after another. The rivers addressed in the two verses are the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā, the Sarasvatī, the Śutudrī, the Marudvṛdhā, the Ārjīkīyā and the Sindhu, in all seven. The others are shown as tributaries of some of them. From the verses quoted above we know that the third and the fourth were independent rivers. There can be no doubt that the first and the last were independent. The second, the fifth and the sixth being treated in the same way as the other four and differently from the rest, must also be taken as independent rivers. Thus these seven were the chief rivers of the country.

But as explained above, the total number of rivers was much larger. I shall discuss them from south-east to north-west as far as possible keeping in line with the practice of the ṛṣis.

Section I

The First Group

The Gaṅgā. The Gaṅgā is mentioned twice, once with other rivers indicating that it was considered to be one of the main rivers

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19. I-71-7 (see Chapter I, footnote 39).
20. I-190-7, VI-19-5 and VIII-6-4 & 35 & 92-2.
21. X-75-5 (see footnote 9).
22. त्वं सिन्धो X-75-6.

of the country[23], and at the other place, in association with the Paṇis[24]. The fact that it is specially referred to as having high banks[25], probably indicates that it joined the Arvāvat sea soon after leaving the foothills, *i. e.* before reaching the plains where it could have only low banks. As explained before, this sea prevented the Āryas from crossing the Gaṅgā and migrating eastward. To be so complete a barrier, the sea must have stretched right up to the Himālayas. The Gaṅgā must have, therefore, joined it from the north-west somewhere well above Hastināpur.

There is not even one separate verse in praise of Gaṅgā. This proves that it did not command the same love and reverence in the Ṛgvedic age, as it acquired later. The obvious reason for this is that it was not situated in the cradle of the Ṛgvedic culture and religion but further away on the eastern border, its valley being occupied by the non-Indra-worshipping Paṇis who were votaries of Vala.

The Yamunā. It is mentioned thrice, at one place with other rivers indicating that it was also one of the main rivers[26], at another place in connection with the war of Sudās Tṛtsu against the Ajas, the Śigrus and the Yakṣus[27] and at the third place suggesting that its valley was even then famous for cattle and horses[28]. Like the Gaṅgā it must have also had a short course joining the Arvāvat sea independently, probably somewhere near Pānīpat (Paṇi Prastha), a very ancient town (as indicated by the high mounds on which it is partly situated) in the vicinity of, and very likely connected with, the Paṇis as suggested by its name.

The Yamunā appears to have run a more westerly course in early days, though the one marked by Cunningham is not quite correct[29]. Apparently he has confused the old beds of the ancient Dṛṣadvatī and the Yamunā, which ran very close to each other from about the level of

23. X-75-5. (see footnote 9).
24. VI-45-31.
25. ऊरुः कक्षो नगाङ्ग्यः। VI-45-31.
26. X-75-5. (see footnote 9).
27. आवदिन्द्रं यमुना तृत्सवश्च प्रात्र भेदं सर्वताता मुषायत्। अजासश्च शिग्रवो यक्षवश्च बलिं शीर्षाणि जभ्रुरश्व्यानि।। VII-18-19.
28. सप्त मे सप्त शाकिन एकमेका शता ददुः। यमुनायामधि श्रुतमुद्राधो गव्यं मृजे नि राधो अश्व्यं मृजे।। V-52-17.
29. Cunningham : *Ancient Geography of India*, map no. X.

Devadhar to about that of Mūṇak. As far as one can judge from the evidence of old maps, published before the upper channel of the western Yamunā canal was straightened out, the two rivers appear to have come close at a place about three miles south-east of Chacharaulī town, but diverged again immediately after. The Dṛṣadvatī continued south-west towards old Śrughna (now represented mostly by Būḍiyā) while the Yamunā turned due south along Khidrī and Fatehgaḍh and ran into the present channel at Ghāziuddīnpur. It then again ran south-westwards, almost parallel to the Dṛṣadvatī, the two again coming about two miles close to each other near old Śrughna. The Yamunā passed Karnāl few miles in the east, then Gharauṇḍā, then went to the west of Pānīpat and Sonīpat and rejoined the modern bed a few miles above Delhi. In the days of Fīroz Shāh Tughluq, a channel was drawn from the old bed of the Yamunā near Shāhjahānpur village and joined to the Dṛṣadvatī about three miles east of Chacharaulī town and again from Dṛṣadvatī three miles east of Mūṇak and joined to the old course of the Yamunā about four miles above Pānīpat to form the Royal canal. This is confirmed by Cunningham[30], showing the Dṛṣadvatī (though not named) to rise from nowhere about the level of Mūṇak and at once divided into two branches. One branch runs south-west and is joined one after another by the two branches of what appears to be the (lower) Cataṅg, thus forming a rough triangle. The other branch runs south and joins the old course of the Yamunā a little below the level of Sonīpat. Another map of Cunningham[31], however, shows the Dṛṣadvatī more correctly though it gives only a part of its course.

A good part, though straightened out of the old course of the Yamunā, is now occupied by the Delhi branch of the Western Yamunā Canal. The course discussed above, of course, belongs to comparatively recent days, but is the oldest one now traceable.

Aśmanvatī. The Aśmanvatī is wrongly supposed to be another name of the Dṛṣadvatī[32] only because both the names mean 'the stony'. But synonimity does not necessarily imply that both are one and the same river. The verse shows one side of the river inauspicious and bringing no gains,

30. Cunningham : *Ancient Geography of India*, map no. X.
31. Map no. XIV.
32. X-53-8.

while the other is shown as the reverse of it[33]. This description could never have fitted the Dṛṣadvatī as would be apparent when it is identified later on. There is a river still called Aśmī or Assan, which rises near Mahāsū in the Śimlā range and joins the Giri Gaṅgā, which in its turn falls into the Yamunā. There is another tributary of the Yamunā known as Āsan, which rises near Masūrī (Mussoorie) and Dehrā Dūn and runs westwards between two ranges of the Śivālikas and joins that river near Pānvatā. Situated as these tributaries are, their beds would always be covered with stones. The low hills and the plains in their south will always be more profitable and comfortable to live in than the high mountains in the north, specially in the Ṛgvedic age with its severer and longer winters. Their present names could easily be corruptions of Aśman, more so of the former, though the description is more fitted to the latter. It is, therefore, more reasonable to identify one of these rivers with the Aśmanvatī of the Ṛgveda.

These three rivers *viz.* the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā, and the Aśmanvatī formed the easternmost group of the rivers of Sapta Saindhava.

Section II

The Second Group

The (South-eastern) Rasā. Some eminent but baffled scholars, who could not interpret the relevant verses rationally, have described the Rasā as a mythical river. The fact is that there is nothing mythical about the river. The scholars came to the incorrect conclusion because the word 'Rasā' besides being the proper name of two different rivers situated near the two ends of the country, also means dry land as well as the Earth in general. One verse[34] mentions the river of this name between the Susartu and the Śvetī and joining the Sindhu while another verse[35] mentions it before the Anitabhā, the Kubhā, the Krumu and the Sindhu. The Rasā of these two verses is clearly a north-western tributary of the Indus, which

33. अश्मन्वती रीयते सं रभध्वमुत्तिष्ठत प्र तरता सखायः। अत्रा जहाम ये असन्नशेवाः शिवान्वयमुत्तरेमाभि वाजान् X-53-8.

34. तृष्टामया प्रथमं यातवे सजूः सुसर्त्वा रसया श्वेत्या त्या। त्वं सिन्धो कुभया गोमतीं क्रुमुं मेहत्न्वा सरथं याभिरीयसे॥ X-75-6.

35. मा वो रसानितभा कुभा क्रुमुर्मा वः सिन्धुर्नि रीरमत्। मा वः परि ष्ठात्सरयुः पुरीषिण्यस्मे इत्सुम्नमस्तु वः॥ V-53-9.

will in due course be shown to be no other than the small river now called the Tangir.

As explained previously, a verse[36] describes the snow-clad *i.e.*, high mountains, the ocean and the Rasā as the possessions of the Supreme Being. A river, specially a small one, cannot be placed side by side with the high mountains and the ocean and described as the possession of the Supreme Being along with them. The 'Rasā' in this verse more appropriately means the dry and more level lands of the plains between the high mountains and ocean. In another verse, the Rasā is said to go round the Viṣṭap[37]; the latter meaning the Universe, the Sun or the world in general. A river would not be described as going round any of these three by any man in his senses. Unless we are not prepared to credit Medhyātithi Kāṇva with ordinary commonsense, we must translate the Rasā in this verse as the Earth and Viṣṭap as the sun and understand the ṛṣi as alluding to the Earth's motion round the sun. It may, of course, startle savants of a certain school of thought but quite evidently it is a more sensible interpretation than speaking of a river named Rasā going round the world, specially when the river so honoured is neither the Sarasvatī, the most sacred and revered, nor the Sindhu, the biggest river of the country. We must consider the facts that in a verse the heaven and the Earth are said to be like bowls united[38] and in another they are described as wheels[39]. Both indicate the idea of roundness and the former that of a hemisphere. It is hard to believe that the Earth could be imagined as a bowl with its concavity towards the heaven by people who could leave a literature like the Ṛgveda, specially in view of the two verses already quoted in Chapter One,[40] which speak of the Aśvins going round the seas and resting on the shore of seas probably on the other side of the world at night. The Rasā in these two verses must, therefore, mean the dry plains of the Earth and the Earth itself respectively. The only other possible explanation of Rasā[41]

36. यस्येमे हिमवन्तो महित्वा यस्य समुद्रं रसया सहाहुः। यस्येमाः प्रदिशो यस्य बाहू कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम।। X-121-4.
37. सरा रसेव विष्टपम् IX-41-6.
38. मही समैरच्चम्वा समीची उभेते अस्य वसुना न्यृष्टे III-55-20.
39. यो अक्षेणेव चक्रिया शचीभिर्विष्वक्तस्तम्भ पृथिवीमुत द्याम् X-89-4.
40. I-180-1 & 46-8 (see Chapter I, footnote 32 and 33).
41. परि णः शर्मयन्त्या धारया सोम विश्वतः। सरा रसेव विष्टपम्।। IX-41-6.

could be the Milky Way, which might be imagined to go round the world. In any case it has no connection with terrestrial streams.

The ṛṣi of one section[42] in a verse[43] speaks of the chariot of the Aśvins reaching the heaven after coming up from a sea. The same ṛṣi in the next verse[44] speaks of the sea watering the horses of Aśvins with Rasā. The text has already been quoted in connection with the Arvāvat sea. The Rasā of this verse would, therefore, be a river in the south-east, that joined the Arvāvat sea where the Aśvins appeared to rise. In one verse, the ṛṣi Atri Bhauma, the founder of the Ātreya clan of the Brāhmaṇas, prays to the great mother Rasā for irrigation, *i.e.* watering of land[45]. In the fifth verse of the same hymn he speaks of himself as the high priest of an Auśija, *i.e.* a king of the Uśijas (a division of the Āngirases before they adopted the priestly profession)[46]. The Uśijas ruled in the south-east and their ancestors, led by Bṛhaspati Āngirasa, had attacked and defeated Paṇis, living on the other side of the Rasā in mountainous regions as mentioned in many verses. In another verse Śyāvāśva Ātreya, an early ancestor of the clan, speaks of the Maruts having given a charger to Bharata[47], while in another verse of the same maṇḍala Sutambhara Ātreya speaks of Agni shining splendidly for the Bharatas[48]. This Bharata and his descendants, the earlier Bharatas, were also kings of the south-east. In their maṇḍala (the sixth) the Bhāradvājas, who were descendants of Bhāradvāja, son of Bṛhaspati, and cousins of the Uśijas, and had later on become priests, speak a lot about the Bharatas and the Sarasvatī. It would thus appear that the great ṛṣi Atri lived in the south-east.

So far as I could find, the notorious and universally hated Paṇis are mentioned in the fifth maṇḍala (of the Atris) only twice[49] while all the other maṇḍalas mention them more or less frequently. The comparative silence of the Atris about them cannot be without significance. The most likely inference is that the earlier ancestors of the Atris were connected with

42. *i.e.* of IV-43.
43. IV-43-5. (See Chapter I, footnote 80).
44. IV-43-6. (See Chapter I, footnote 81).
45. सिषक्तु माता मही रसा V-41-15.
46. औशिजस्य होता V-41-5.
47. भरताय वाजं V-54-14.
48. भरतेभ्यः V-11-1.
49. V-34-7.& 61-8.

the Paṇis in a friendly manner and that is the reason why they did not advertise the latter's failing as the others did. This idea is supported by a verse which describes the Paṇis as forsaken by Atris[50]. Atri must have, therefore, been connected with the Paṇis in his earlier life, *i.e.* before he became the priest of the Auśijas, their conquerors. The association of the Paṇis with the Gaṅgā[51] has already been mentioned and the fact that they used to live in the extreme south-east of Sapta Saindhava will be established elsewhere. The Rasā prayed to by Atris cannot, therefore, be the Taṅgīr of the north-west, but must be a river in the south-east. In one verse, Kutsa, as proved by the Pravara ṛṣis (the most important Ṛgvedic ṛṣi ancestor of the Kutsas), was an Aikṣvāku king of the south-east before he became a ṛṣi and was adopted in the Āngiras clan, describes Rasā as flooded by the Aśvins[52]. The Rasā of this verse would also be a river of south-east. Finally Saramā, the she-hound of Bṛhaspati, and, of course, of Indra[53] is said to have faced the dangers of crossing the waters of the Rasā to reach the place, where the Paṇis had hidden the cattle of Bṛhaspati as well as their own wealth and other booty in the rock-paved caves of mountains in a lonely spot, which led far away to distant places and which was well guarded by the Paṇis[54]. The Paṇis, living on the banks of the Gaṅgā and the shore of the Arvāvat sea, are more likely to have their retreats and conceal their wealth and booty in the caves of the south-eastern mountains *viz,* the northern Pāriyātras, rather than those of the far distant north-western ranges across the Taṅgīr. The Rasā of this verse would also, therefore, be a river situated in the south-east amongst and near the northern Pāriyātras, the crossing of which led one to dangerous and lonely

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50. न्यत्रिणं VI-51-14.
51. अधि बृबु:पणीनां वर्षिष्ठे मूर्धन्नस्थात्। उरुः कक्षो न गाङ्ग्यः।। VI-45-31.
52. रसां क्षोदसोन्दः पिपिन्वथु: I-112-12.
53. इन्द्रस्याङ्गिरसां चेष्टौ विदत्सरमा तनयाय धासिम्।
बृहस्पतिर्भिनदद्रिं विदद्गाः समुस्रियाभिर्वावशन्त नरः।। I-62-3.
54. किमिच्छन्ती सरमा प्रेदमानड् दूरे ह्यध्वा जगुरिः पराचैः।
कास्मेहितिः का परितक्म्यासीत्कथं रसाया अतरः पयांसि।।1।।
इन्द्रस्य दूतीरिषिता चरामि मह इच्छन्ती पणयो निधीन्वः।
अतिष्कदो भियसा तन्न आवत्तथा रसाया अतरं पयांसि।।2।।
अयं निधिः सरमे अद्रिबुध्नो गोभिरश्वेभिर्वसुभिन्यृष्टः।
रक्षन्ति तं पणयो ये सुगोपा रेकु पदमलकमा जगन्थ।।7।। X-108-1, 2, 7.

places and through which one could go to such far away and distant places, as the Jambūdvīpa or the modern South-eastern India. At present there is the dry bed of the seasonal stream, called the Sāhbī (Sāyabī or Sāvī) which —more than any other river—fits in with the above description. It rises in the northern Pāriyātras near Ajītgaḍh just south of Torāvāṭī in Jaipur territory and runs north-eastwards. It is first joined near Behroḍ by the Sotā, which rises a little further north near Ciplatā in Torāvāṭī; then near Bijvāḍ by the Bān-gaṅgā, which rises in Bānsur area in the east; and still further in Paṭaudī territory by the Indorī, which rises in the east of Tāvḍū. These three are also seasonal streams at present. The united bed then passes between Rivāḍī (Rewari) and Dhārūheḍā, then runs almost due north past Khatāvlī, Jāṭaulī and Karaulā and is now lost near Dādrī in Jhajjar Tehsīl. Older maps and map No. X in Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* show it as running north-westwards from Jāṭaulī and joining the Kṛṣṇāvatī near Kāsnī. The combined stream is then shown as going north up to about half way between Bilocpur and Mārot and then turning eastwards and joining the lake of Jahāṅgīrpur. From this lake a stream is shown running southeast and joining the main marsh of Najafgaḍh in more recent maps. One map shows the lakes and marshes from Jahāṅgīrpur to Najafgaḍh as one large lake.[55] Another map does not show the lake, but shows the river as joining the Yamunā directly[56]. This, of course, is wrong. The Sāhbī still after very heavy rains over its catchment area joins the Najafgaḍh lake by turning eastwards from Dādrī though this is now a rare occurrence.

This river and its affluents should have been fairly large and permanent streams in the Ṛgvedic age, as, then the northern Pāriyātras were high mountains and the Arvāvat and Sarasvat seas caused a much heavier raiṅfall and probably also snowfall over them. It is this river *i.e.* the south-eastern Rasā which was very probably the Rasā of many verses[57]. It joined the Arvāvat sea probably after a very short course out of the northern Pāriyātras.

The Aṁśumatī. This river, mentioned in many verses[58] in connection with a tribe led by Drapsa of the Kṛṣna dynasty, is generally

55. *Ancient Geography of India*, map no. X.
56. *Ancient Geography of India*, map no. I.
57. *i. e.* of IV-43-5, V-41-15, I-112-12. and X-108-1 & 2.
58. VIII-96-13 to 15.

believed to be the same as the Yamunā. So far as I could find there is no warrant, whatsoever, for this belief.

There is the dry bed of a river which rises in the northern Pāriyātras five miles east of Mānvaḍā and Nīm Kā Thānā in Torāvāṭī area. It is shown in the modern maps first going north-north-west and, then, passing through one mile east of Nārnaul, going north-eastwards and finally ending near Ḍahīnā in Rivāḍī tehsīl. Maps published towards the close of the last century show it as going a few miles further north-east and ending near Kosli railway station. Still earlier maps and map No. X in Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* trace it still further in the same direction and as joining the Sāhbī near Kāsnī. After very heavy rains it still crosses the railway line, often damaging it near Nāṅgal Paṭhānī and falls into the lake of Najafgaḍh. Its correct name is Kṛṣṇāvatī, by which it is still designated near Nārnaul in modern maps. But above and below that area, it is named Kasāvantī and Kasāvatī respectively. These words are only corrupt forms of Kṛṣṇāvatī.

There is also a bigger dry bed of another seasonal stream which, too, rises in the northern Pāriyātras near Caunī Torāvāṭī a few miles north of Kṛṣṇāvatī. It is shown running north-eastwards past Basai (in Torāvāṭī), Ḍhosī (Cyavanāśrama) and Kānauḍ (in Mahindargaḍh area) in modern maps. Older maps trace its course further north beyond Māṇḍolā almost up to the hills of Kaliāṇā. It is difficult to understand why it has been ignored by Cunningham[59]. In older days it used to flow quite frequently up to Carkhī-Dādrī. After very heavy rains it used to turn eastwards and is known to have occasionally reached Chūchakvās in Jhajjar Tehsīl. It is still remembered to have run further east in more ancient days and fallen into the lake of Najafgaḍh. But before it did so it used to unite near Mārot with a stream, coming from the north and now called the (lower) Naī, then turn southwards and join the combined stream of Kṛṣṇāvatī and the Sāhbī between Mārot and Bilocpur. It is now known as the Duhān. It is this river that is called the Vadhūsarā in the Mahābhārata and is said to have originated from the tears of Divyā Paulomā, the wife of the great sage Bhṛgu and the mother of the famous sage Cyavana (Ṛgvedic Cyavāna) and to flow past the Āśrama of the latter[60].

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59. *i. e.* in *Ancient Geography of India*, map no. X.
60. Ādi parva 6.

This Āśrama is still recognised to have been situated on the isolated and fairly high hill of Ḍhosī having three peaks and three springs as well as a well sacred to the Moon (Candra Kūpa or Candra Tīrtha) and named the Ārcīka Parvata, *i. e.* the mountain of Ṛcīka (Bhārgava)[61]. The name Ḍhosī (also pronounced as Ḍhūsī) is obviously a corrupt form of Vadhūsarī derived from Vadhūsarā. In the Mahābhārata[62], the river Vadhūsarā is described as a sacred stream with many holy places on its banks, including one called after Bhṛgu himself. This holy place is said to be respected over the three worlds and adored by the great sages of the past; another holy place is Dīptoda, where the great ṛṣi Bhṛgu is said to have practised austerities. Rāma Jāmadagnya-Bhārgava (Paraśu Rāma), the mighty sage-warrior, is said to have regained his energy, after being deprived of the same by Rāma Aikṣvāku by bathing in the tīrthas of this river. This legend is palpably wrong unless it refers to a descendant of Rāma Jāmadagnya as he himself being a Ṛgvedic ṛṣi, could not have been a contemporary of his Aikṣvāku namesake, a king of Ayodhyā in later days.

These references prove that the Vadhūsarā-Duhān must have been a fairly large, perennial and important river in early days, more so than the Kṛṣṇāvatī and even the Sāhbī-Rasā, which, so far as I know, are not mentioned in that Epic.

Both the Kṛṣṇāvatī and the Vadhūsarā must have been fairly large and permanent rivers, the latter being the bigger of the two, for reasons mentioned in connection with the Sāhbī-Rasā.

The area, through which the Kṛṣṇāvatī flowed, had no connection with the two famous Kṛṣṇas and the well-known queen Kṛṣṇā of the post-Ṛgvedic days. Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Pārāśara Vāsiṣṭha, popularly known as the Vedavyāsa or briefly Vyāsa, is traditionally known to have had his āśrama at Vyāsasthalī, the modern Bastalī in Kurukṣetra. A forest called the Vyāsa Vana, with Manojava in it and apparently named after the Vyāsa, is also mentioned near Vyāsasthalī and is identified with the area around Barās in the same locality. Parāśarāśrama, the home of his ancestors, is said to have been situated between Bālu and Behlolpur villages in

61. *Mahābhārata*, Vana parva, 125.
62. Vana parva-99.

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the same neighbourhood[63]. Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva Vārṣṇeya-Yādava, the Lord Kṛṣṇa, is connected with the Mathurā area and then Dvārakā in Saurāṣṭra. Kṛṣṇā Draupadī Pāñcālī came from the southern parts of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā doāb and, after her marriage, was connected with the Kuru kingdom (stretching from the upper course of the Gaṅgā to the desert and north of the Dvaipāyana lake). The river Kṛṣṇāvatī, on the other hand, ran in the domains of Matsyas. It could not have, therefore, derived its name from these three. The only other well-known people of that name were the Ṛgvedic Kṛṣṇas mentioned in several verses. It is, therefore, not unlikely that this river got its name from that tribe. There are at least five or six other examples of such naming in the ancient days which will be discussed in their proper places. It is thus not illogical to hold that this Kṛṣṇāvatī got its name from the Ṛgvedic Kṛṣṇas who lived in its valley. As the verses show the Kṛṣṇas to be the aggressors, it is not unreasonable to suggest that it was the Vadhūsarā-Duhān, its sister river in the north-west that was the scene of the battle and was known as the Aṁśumatī in the Ṛgvedic days.

As will be explained elsewhere this river was also known as the Bhānumatī (another name connected with the sun) at one time. I, therefore, think that Aṁśumatī was the ancient name of the Bhānumatī-Vadhūsarā-Duhān. The Kṛṣṇāvatī is not mentioned in the existing verses. Both of them joined the Arvāvat sea from the south-west, probably separately and somewhere near the border of Jhajjar tehsīl in Ṛgvedic days.

The Anumatī. The river, now called the lower Naī and mentioned above as joining the Duhān, appears to have been formed by more than one branch of the Dṛṣadvatī flowing southwards between Mūṇak and Sīṅkh. It was very probably reinforced by a stream or two from the Yamunā between Mūṇak and Pānīpat. It is represented now by a bed. This bed starts from the old beds of both these rivers in several *nālās* between Sīṅkh and Pānīpat. All beds except one unite above Chacarānā. It, then, runs almost due south to Gohānā, where it is joined by the last nālā from the Yamunā which starts near Pānīpat. It, then, passing about two miles west of Rohtak, goes further south and later on, passes Kāhnaur

63. *Mahābhārata*, Vana parva-LXXXIII; *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XIV, p. 98.

and Hussainganj. It is shown in the modern maps ending near a temple between Mārot and Bilocpur (probably a little below the site of its old confluence with the Duhān). Older maps show the course of the combined stream, as first running further south past Bilocpur and then going in a zig zag way along Kanvāh, Kitraudh, Hasanpur and Silānī and joining the lake near Jahāṅgīrpur. After that, the stream is shown running south-east past Sūrā, Kiloī, Dādrī (in Jhajjar Tehsīl), Sondhī, Muṇḍā-Kheḍā and Rāvaṭā and falling into the main marsh of Najafgaḍh. According to older maps, the combined stream of Naī and Duhān was joined by that of the Sāhbī and the Kṛṣṇāvatī near the temple between Mārot and Bilocpur. After very heavy rains the Sāhbī still joins it near Dādrī and Kṛṣṇāvatī a little further up, but the Duhān is never sufficiently strong to join it anywhere now.

Cunningham, who has not shown the upper course of the Dṛṣadvatī above Mūṇak, shows it as suddenly appearing there and at once dividing into two branches. One branch running southwards is probably meant to represent this river[64]. But he joins it to the old course of the Yamunā a little below the level of Sonīpat. It is not supported by any authority. The evidence of all the maps, that I could get, indicates the course described above.

It is probably this river, that is called the Anumatī[65] and is associated with Bṛhaspati, who very likely flourished in the valley of this river and in the country between it and the Duhān-Vadhūsarā-Bhānumatī-Aṁśumatī and thus came into conflict with the Paṇis and the Kṛṣṇas living further south-east. This river is mentioned in another place also[66]. It probably joined the Arvāvat sea, separately from the Aṁśumatī near the border of the Jhajjar tehsīl in Ṛgvedic days.

Being the home-river of Bṛhaspati, the deified representative of the priestly class in later days of the Ṛgvedic age, it also got deified. As will be explained later on, it later came to be known as the Haviṣmatī. Its bed has now been turned into a *nālā* and is called the (lower) Naī as already stated.

64. Cunningham : *Ancient Geography of India*, map no. X.
65. *i.e.* in X-167-3.
66. असुनीते पुनरस्मासु चक्षुः पुनः प्राणमिह नो धेहि भोगम्।
ज्योक् पश्येम सूर्यमुच्चरन्तमनुमते मृलया नः स्वस्ति ॥ X-59-6.

The Sūnṛtā. The Sūnṛtā is mentioned in two verses. In one verse[67] it is mentioned in a deified form. In the former verse it is associated with the deified Bṛhaspati, and in the latter with others. Sūnṛtā was possibly the name of the biggest of the upper affluents of the Anumatī.

The Asunīti. The Asunīti mentioned in the deified form[68], and in association with the Anumatī in one verse[69], was possibly the stream, which branched off from the Yamunā near Pānīpat and joined the Anumatī near Gohānā.

Unfortunately there is no more evidence available in the Ṛgveda to support the above inferences about these rivers. But a study of the rivers of the next group will show that these inferences are not wide of the mark.

The six rivers discussed above, of which five are mentioned by name in the Ṛgveda, may be said to form the second and the southernmost group of the rivers of Sapta Saindhava.

Section III

The Third Group

This group consisted of the Sarasvatī and its sister rivers together with their tributaries and affluents. One verse describes Sarasvatī as swelled by many rivers[70], denoting that it had several tributaries. Another verse speaks of it as having three origins or sources and bearing or receiving the waters of seven rivers[71]. Still another verse describes it as the seventh and the mother of rivers[72]. The description probably means that the Sarasvatī was the main out of the seven rivers; the other six rivers were like its

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67. प्रैतु ब्रह्मणस्पतिः प्र देव्येतु सूनृता।
अच्छा वीरं नर्यं पंक्तिराधसं देवा यज्ञं नयन्तु नः।। I-40-3 and
प्र नो यच्छत्वर्यमा प्र भगः प्र बृहस्पतिः।
प्र देवाः प्रोत सूनृता रायो देवी ददातु नः।। X-141-2.

68. असुनीते मनो अस्मासु धारय जीवातवे सु प्र तिरा न आयुः।
रारन्धि नः सूर्यस्य संदृशि घृतेन त्वं तन्वं वर्धयस्व।। X-59-5. & 6.
(For the latter see footnote 66).

69. X-59-6 (see footnote 66).

70. सरस्वती सिन्धुभिः पिन्वमाना VI-52-6.

71. त्रिषधस्था and सप्तधातुः VI-61-12.

72. सरस्वती सप्तथी सिन्धुमाता VII-36-6.

children coming to their mother. Yet another verse describes it as having seven sisters[73] while one verse speaks of the Sarasvatī and seven rivers[74], both evidently referring to the same fact.

The Sarasvatī would, thus, appear to be formed higher up by three main affluents; then by seven streams, (*i. e.* six others, probably including the above three and main Sarasvatī as the seventh) and to have seven other sister rivers, running more or less parallel to it for a comparatively longer course, and then, either joining it or falling into the sea directly. Thus there were in all at least fourteen streams. This number, of course, does not include any tributaries of the seven sister rivers of the Sarasvatī. The total will, therefore, exceed fourteen. I have studied in all forty streams of various sizes in the basin of that river. But, unfortunately, in addition to the tremendous geological changes that have taken place since the Ṛgvedic times, human hand has also played its part in changing the courses and destinies of many of them. It is known and has also been noted by Cunningham[75] that to get as much water for his canals as possible Fīroz Shāh Tughluq got several of these rivers and their affluents so interlaced and inosculated with one another that their natural courses got radically altered and people got confused about their names. However, an effort has been made to identify them, with what degree of success, it is for the learned reader to judge.

The Dṛṣadvatī. This river is mentioned in a verse, already quoted in connection with Mānuṣa and Ilāyāspada, as apparently forming the southern limit of the territories of the Bharatas in the days of Devavāta and probably also of Mānuṣa area[76].

Some scholars, including Das[77], have identified it with the Ghaggar, ignoring the indication given by its earlier mention in the verses and the well-known tradition, supported by a verse recited both in the beginning and the end of the Mahābhārata Vana parva LXXXIII to the effect that the holy Kurukṣetra was bounded by the Sarasvatī in the north and the

73. सप्तस्वसा VI-61-10.
74. सरस्वत्यवन्तु सप्त सिन्धवः VIII-54-4.
75. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XIV, p. 89.
76. III-23-4. (See Chapter I, footnote 87).
77. *Ṛgvedic India*, p. 71.

Dṛṣadvatī in the south[78]. The Dṛiṣadvatī, being thus, situated in the south of the Sarasvatī cannot be the Ghaggar which flows in the north of the Sarasvatī.

Others have identified the Dṛṣadvatī with the Cataṅg. They are right in so far as the river actually forming the southern boundary of Kurukṣetra has been called by that name after its union with the (lower) Cataṅg below Dhātrat in later days. But Dhātrat is situated almost half way between the south-eastern (at Sīṅkh) and the south-western (at Rāmrāi) corners of the holy area. Besides, there are reasons to believe that these two rivers united further west and outside the sacred tract in earlier days, because, as will be shown later on, the (lower) Cataṅg ran a more north-westerly course in those days. In fact, this river ran through the middle of the holy region. The (upper) Cataṅg was, and is still, quite separate from the lower river of that name and runs between the two easternmost Sarasvatīs outside and in the east of Kurukṣetra. They could not, therefore, form its southern boundary and thus could not represent the ancient Dṛṣadvatī.

Still others, including Cunningham, have identified the Dṛṣadvatī with the Rāksī[79]. But Rāksī is a different river. Rāksī is the modern name of the river Rākā mentioned in the Ṛgveda. Though the Rāksī joined the real river forming the southern limit of Kurukṣetra near its south-eastern corner in later days, the evidence of its old beds shows that it did so further west in earlier days and thus ran through the south-eastern parts of the holy area instead of forming its boundary. It could not, therefore, be the Dṛṣadvatī.

Cunningham has, however, marked the real Dṛṣadvatī,[80] though without naming it, from about Mūṇak downwards along the southern border of Kurukṣetra and shown it as joining the Sarasvatī near Bhaṭner. As already stated, owing probably to an error of judgement, he has not marked it above Mūṇak. The general slope of the area being from north-east to south-west, he could not have meant the upper end of this river to be a

78. दक्षिणेन सरस्वत्या दृषद्वत्युत्तरेण च। ये वसन्ति कुरुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिविष्टये॥ *Mahābhārata*, Vana parva, LXXXIII.
79. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XIV, p. 88.
80. Cunningham : *Ancient Geography of India*, map nos. V, VI & X.

branch of the Catang, going first south-east, then dividing into two sub-branches, one running south-west and rejoining the other main branch, and the other running exactly in the opposite direction and then turning southwards to join the Yamunā. Obviously, there is a mistake. The other map of the same book[81], however, shows the Dṛṣadvatī further up and running in the east of Karnāl. The lowest part of its old course is represented in modern maps by a short but broad, dry bed, which starts in the north-east of Baḍopal (in Bīkāner district) and joins the dry bed of the Sarasvatī about five miles further west broadening it noticeably. Older maps mark it as starting about ten miles further east near Mañjuthal. Looking further east they unmistakably point to the Hānsī-Hisār branch of the western Yamunā canal, which now ends above Bhādrā, as its upper channel. The lower part of the canal beyond Hisār is not yet straightened out and looks more like the course of a natural river than that of an artificial canal. All the older maps show a river with a tortuous and winding course in place of the canal right up to its very sources. It must, therefore, be the present west Yamunā canal with its Hānsī-Hisār branch which now represents the ancient Dṛṣadvatī. This must have been a large river with continuous and ample supply of water fed by hill streams so as to have stones at least in the upper part of its bed to justify the name 'the Stony'. It thus appears to have been originally formed by the modern Bolī with the Khilonvālā; the Cikan, the Palāsī and the Nimbūvālā hill streams as its affluents. The united stream now runs almost due south and joins the western Yamunā Canal about three miles east of Chachraulī town. But the evidence of the depression of the old bed of the Yamunā proves that a channel dug along it from Bhogrīvālā downwards has been taken out of it at Shāhjahānpur village and joined to the Bolī, while the old Yamunā runs further south along Bhūl Kheḍī and Harivā up to the present canal works. Here the two rivers came very close to each other and the Dṛṣadvatī Bolī was joined by the Som. It went further west and passed the old Śrughna (now represented by Būḍiyā, Dayālgaḍh, Sugh and Amādalpur) on its right. The course between the canal works and Būḍiyā is now fully straightened out, but old maps show it as tortuous. The Dṛṣadvati, then, ran almost due west to the site of the present Jagādharī Railway Station, and afterwards

81. *i.e.* Cunningham : *Ancient Geography of India*, map. no. XIV.

turned south-west and went past Dāmlā and Radauḍ to Indrī. This part of the course is still not quite straight though it has been worked as a canal for several centuries. Old maps show it as much more tortuous. The Dṛṣadvatī further ran south-east for a few miles but soon turned south-south-west past Naglā, Siṅghoā and Būḍhākheḍā. It then passed east of Karnāl and crossing the ancient Royal road four miles south of that town reached about three miles east of Mūṇak. It was here that Fīroz Shāh got a canal dug out of it and joined to the old course of the Yamunā about five miles above Pānīpat. The Dṛṣadvatī, then, ran past Dharmagaḍh and Śerā and curved round north-westwards along Jośi and Khaṭlā where it was joined by the Rāksī in later days before the lower course of that river was confined to a nālā called the (upper) Naī and joined to the Hānsī-Hisār branch of the western Yamunā canal a little further down recently. Fīroz Shāh Tughluq had got a canal drawn from the right bank of the Dṛṣadvatī near Mūṇak and rejoined it at Barodh, between Jośi and Khaṭlā, probably to have a short-cut. This canal is still traceable. The Dṛṣadvatī then passed Saphīḍon about two miles east and went past Urlānā to Sīṅkh. In between, it threw out a branch southwards, which has been already identified with the Anumatī. It may be that in earlier days that branch received one or more branches thrown out further up between Mūṇak and Śerā, as indicated by the existing nālās now forming the lower Naī. The Dṛṣadvatī, then, ran along Hāṭ, Āsan, Barāh, Jīnd, Dhūndhī and Rāmrāi. These places from Sīṅkh downwards are named as Tarantuka, Koṭī in Pañcanada, Aśvin, Varāh, Jayantī with Soma, Ekahansa, Kṛtśanca and Yakṣiṇī near Rāmahradas[82], respectively on the southern border of Kurukṣetra along which the Dṛṣadvatī is described as flowing. Cunningham has shown it as joined by two branches of what appears to be either the Rāksī or the (lower) Cataṅg, about Saphiḍon and between Dhātrat and Āsan. As far as I can see, he is again mistaken. The two streams which joined the Dṛṣadvatī in this area were not branches of one river, but two separate rivers mentioned above *viz* the Rāksī, now represented by the (upper) Naī and the lower Cataṅg. The Dṛṣadvatī, then, flowed past Nārnaul, Hānsī, Hisār, Mātarśām, Sīsvāl and Moḍākheḍā and fell into the Sarasvat sea in the earliest days. But when the sea receded

82. *Mahābhārata*, Vana parva LXXXIII.

it ran further west through the desert thus created along Chānībaḍī, Rāmgaḍhiā and Bhādrā, up to which place its course is marked in modern maps. Actually it went a few miles still further as is evident by the rows of trees and sweet water wells along its course (all other wells in the area being generally brackish). The water ordinarily runs up to Chānībaḍī, but reaches Rāmgaḍhiā after heavy rains and is known to have reached up to and even beyond Bhādrā only about 50 years ago. The subterranean stream must, however, be still going beyond Bhādrā to cause the growth of the trees along its bed and to supply sweet water to the wells in its neighbourhood. The course between Indrī and Hisār has been straightened out and gives the appearance of an artificial canal in modern maps, but older maps show it winding like a natural river and call it Fīroz Shāh's canal or Cataṅg river. This proves that it was originally a river. As mentioned above, the course between Hisār and Bhādrā is still in its natural state. Further on, the Dṛṣadvatī appears to have run along Nohar, Rāvatsar, Mañjuthal, Jākhḍanvālī and Baḍopal and joined the Sarasvatī below Māṇakṭherī in post-Ṛgvedic ages. As also stated above, its course is marked from above Mañjuthal in older maps and from above Baḍopal in modern maps. The name Cataṅg, applied to the river in older maps, does not mean that it was not Dṛṣadvatī. As already mentioned, the (lower) Cataṅg was a tributary of that river. The name of a combined stream depends on the notions of the people as to which of the affluents was the more important at a given time. In any case the stream above the confluence must be the Dṛṣadvatī and as the (lower) Cataṅg is, so far as I can trace, not mentioned in its later site in the older literature, Dṛṣadvatī must be accepted as the name of the main river in ancient days.

The course described above is obviously the one followed by the river only a few centuries back and must not be understood to be exactly the same as pursued by it in the Ṛgvedic age. Nor should the towns and villages mentioned to locate it be taken as existing in those days. What I mean to assert is that the Ṛgvedic Dṛṣadvatī is now represented by the Bolī and then the western Yamunā canal and its Hānsī-Hisār branch and that it ran approximately in those regions. The same is the case with the courses of all the ancient rivers discussed in this chapter.

In the Mahābhārata[83], the Dṛṣadvatī is called Raupyā, where it is

83. Vana parva CXXIX.

mentioned in connection with Paraśu Rāma and between his lakes, the Rāmahradas, and the (south western) gate of Kurukṣetra *viz.*, Yakṣiṇī at Rāmrāi near Jīnd.

The Mahābhārata[84] also speaks of another Dṛṣadvatī in the Phalakīvana and of a Kauśikī Dṛsadvatī confluence near Madhuvaṭī. This river, also known as the Hiraṇyavatī in later days probably in contrast to the Raupyā-Dṛṣadvatī, will be discussed later on.

The Guṅgū. The Guṅgū, mentioned before the Sinīvālī, the Rākā and the Sarasvatī[85], was probably the name of the Lohgaḍh Khol which joins the Som below Śergaḍh. It must have got its name from the Guṅgūs, a tribe helped by Divodāsa Atithigva Bhārata against Karañja and Parṇaya. Sāyaṇa has identified the deified Guṅgū with Kuhū, praised as a Devī in Atharva Veda[86]. He appears to be right as Guṅgū is not mentioned in that Saṁhitā and as the Sinīvālī and the Rākā are prayed to in two hymns[86] of the same book.

The Sinīvālī. The Sinīvālī, mentioned in one verse between the Guṅgū on one side and the Rākā and the Sarasvatī on the other and alone in two verses[88], as well as before the Sarasvatī in another verse[89] appears to be the name of modern Soma (Sombh, Somb or Som of Gazetteers and maps). Another verse describes it as having broad currents[90]. It is still a very broad stream as compared to its length. It now joins the Bolī and the Western Yamunā Canal about three miles south-east of Chacharaulī town and probably joined the Dṛṣadvatī about the same place.

The Rākā. The Rākā, mentioned after the Guṅgū and the Sinīvālī

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84. Vana parva LXXXIII.
85. या गुङ्गूर्या सिनीवाली या राका या सरस्वती।
इन्द्राणीमह्व ऊतये वरुणानीं स्वस्तये ।। II-32-8.
86. VII-47.
87. 46th and 48th.
88. सिनीवालि पृथुष्टुके या देवानामसि स्वसा।
जुषस्व हव्यमाहुतं प्रजां देवि दिदिड्ढि नः ।।6।।
या सुबाहुः स्वङ्गुरिः सुषूमा बहुसूवरी।
तस्यै विश्पत्न्यै हविः सिनीवाल्यै जुहोतन ।।7।। II-32-6 and 7.
(For the last verse see footnote 85).
89. गर्भं धेहि सिनीवालि गर्भं धेहि सरस्वति। X-184-2.
90. पृथुष्टुके II-32-6.

but before the Sarasvatī in one verse[91], alone in other two verses,[92] and after the Sarasvatī and Bṛhaddivā in one verse,[93] is obviously the modern Rāksī. It now starts in the plains about one-fourth of a mile north-east of Caurāhī, runs westwards south of that village up to half way between it and Bilāspur, then turns south past Shāhpur, Daryāpur, Śivakheḍā, Māṇḍkheḍā, Mīrpur, Muṇḍākheḍā, Hālūvālā, Kail, Galaulī, Ṭoprā-khurd, Daulatpur, Rāṅgaḍhan, Chārī, Amlohā-Bāpā, Kheḍi Dābdālan and Lāḍvā, half a mile west of which it is shown as joining the lower Cataṅg in modern maps. Older maps show it as running almost due south of that town towards Dhomsā. Even the modern maps show it as restarting about four miles south-west of that village and running in the same direction past Barsālū, Lathron and Kalsī, about a mile below which its course has now been straightened out into a canal, which crosses the Delhī-Ambālā road between the 83rd and 84th milestones and running due west from about two miles joins the (lower) Cataṅg. In earlier days it is known to have flowed past Tirāvaḍī and Lachmanpur, from where its course is again marked up to Narāyaṇā. It then went to Kāchavā, half a mile below which it restarts and runs past Hathiānā and Kaṭlaheḍi to Pevant, below which its course has now been straightened out into a *nālā* called the (upper) Naī, which goes past Pādhā, Sālavan and Dadvārā and joins the western Yamunā canal one and a half miles above Saphidon. It seems that in its natural state it joined the Dṛṣadvatī at Khaṭlā, a little further up, as indicated by an old bed coming from the north and joining the old bed of the latter river there.

Cunningham has confused this river with the (lower) Cataṅg[94]. But in his map of Kurukṣetra in the *Archaeological Survey of India Report*[95], he has shown it as running past Toprā and Lāḍvā, then uniting with the

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91. II-32-8. (see footnote 85).
92. राकामहं सुहवां सुष्टुती हुवे शृणोतु नः सुभगा बोधतु त्मना।
सीव्यत्वपः सूच्याच्छिद्यमानया ददातु वीरं शतदायमुक्थ्यम् ।।4।।
यास्ते राके सुमतयः सुपेशसो याभिर्ददासि दाशुषे वसूनि।
ताभिर्नो अद्य सुमना उपागहि सहस्रपोषं सुभगे रराणा।।5।। II-32-4 & 5
93. दमूनसो अपसो ये सुहस्ता वृष्णः पत्नीर्नद्यो विभ्वतष्टाः।
सरस्वती बृहद्दिवोत राका दशस्यन्तीर्वरिवस्यन्तु शुभ्राः।। V-42-12.
94. Cunningham : *Ancient Geography of India*, map no. X.
95. Vol. XIV

lower Cataṅg near Tirāvaḍī but separating again after a very short course and then dividing into two branches after a further short-run between Sauṅkhḍā and Narāyaṇā. One branch is shown as running southwards past Sagā and Behlolpur (Parāśarāśrama) while the other is marked as going round south-east to Kāchavā, the two reuniting at Bālū and then rejoining the (lower) Cataṅg at Nisaṅg. Bālū is recognised as situated on the old Kauśikī Saṅgam both by local traditions and according to Cunningham, but the latter is incorrect in explaining it as the confluence of the Kauśikī and the Dṛṣadvatī mentioned in the Mahābhārata[96]. That confluence, described near Madhuvaṭī, is recognised at Mohanā, about fifteen miles west-north-west of Bālū. In fact, as will be explained later on, this Kauśikī was not the Rāksī but quite a different river, though it is clear that the latter, whose two branches reunited at Bālū (Kauśikī-Saṅgam), must have also been known (at least in its lower course through Kurukṣetra) as the Kauśikī in some post-Mahābhārata age. The Rāksī has been called the Kauśikī in the later list of the rivers of Kurukṣetra, quoted in the *Archaeological Survey of India Report*[97], while the Kauśikī of the Mahābhārata[98], near Madhuvaṭī has been named Madhuśravā, probably because it ran through the Madhu forest and to distinguish it from the Rāksī which usurped the former name in later days.

The first remnant of its old bed, described above, indicates that in earlier days the Rāksī ran further west than marked by Cunningham in his map of Kurukṣetra, while the Kauśikī Madhuśravā (which will be soon proved to be no other than the lower Cataṅg) flowed further north-west past Mohanā. The Rāksī would have then run from Tirāvaḍī past Sagā and Divānkheḍā to Nisaṅg, below which it flowed more or less in the channel now occupied by the (lower) Cataṅg and joined the Dṛṣadvatī near Āsan. But gradually it moved eastwards and at one time ran the course shown by Cunningham and the second existing fragment of its old bed under the name Kauśikī in that area. Finally it occupied the channel marked by its latest course described above.

I have described the present traceable courses of this as well as some

96. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XIV, p. 98
97. Vol. XIV, p. 88.
98. Vana parva LXXXIII.

other rivers in details, as they are fast disappearing and there is every danger of there being no trace of them left after a short period.

The Bṛhaddivā. The Bṛhaddivā mentioned in one verse[99] between the Sarasvatī and the Rākā and alone in another[100] appears to have been the name of the rivulet which now starts in the plains about one mile south of Bilāspur and running southwards past Bherthal, Arnāvālī, Shāhpur and Maṇḍāvālī, nearly parallel to the Rāksī and between it and the easternmost Sarasvatī, joins the former about a mile below the last named village. It is much wider than the Rāksī.

All these four rivers, *viz.* the Guṅgū (or the Kuhū of the Atharva Veda), the Sinīvālī, the Rākā and the Bṛhaddivā, as well as the Anumatī and Asunīti, already described are deified like the Sarasvatī and the two of its affluents, namely the Akṣarā and the Aramatī, to be discussed later on, and are prayed to for gifts of all sorts. But a rational study of the verses referred above will prove that they were in reality rivers and not merely Lunar (or Soma) Goddesses as explained by scholars. A verse speaks of them as rivers carved out by Vibhva[101] (in the same way as Varuṇa is said to have cut the channels of the Indus[102] already quoted) and as the wives of the strong male *i.e.* the sea[103] (the Sarasvat sea being described as growing like a virile, strong and young male among ladies *i. e.* rivers, connected with sacrifices[104]). Their connection with Soma, probably the plant and not the moon, is evident by the broadest of them being still called Soma. Scholars like Lüdwig and Griffith were of opinion that the 'separate (according to Griffith inexhaustible) ones' and the butter (*i. e.* good water) dripping four' were the Guṅgū (or the Kuhū) the Sinīvālī, the Rākā and the Anumatī[105]. The Bṛhaddivā would replace the Anumatī better as the latter is not associated with these rivers in the verses while the former is. If this explanation be correct, and there is no reason to doubt

99. V-42-12. (see footnote 93).
100. उत माता बृहद्दिवा शृणोतु नस्त्वष्टा देवेभिर्जनिभिः पिता वचः।
ऋभुक्षा वाजो रथस्पतिर्भगो रण्वः शंसः शशमानस्य पातु नः॥ X-64-10.
101. नद्यो विभ्वतष्टाः V-42-12.
102. X-75-2. (see Chapter I, footnote 30).
103. वृष्णः पत्नीः V-42-12.
104. VII-95-3. (see Chapter I, footnote 109).
105. Griffith's note on the translation of the verse IX-74-6.

it, it will support the above conclusion. This verse also indicates that the Soma plant grew in the mountains above their sources.

The Rākā and the Bṛhaddivā probably used to rise in the hills like the others, but their uppermost channels were, like that of the easternmost Sarasvatī, diverted into the Som by the engineers of Fīroz Shāh Tughluq, thus reducing them to their present conditions.

The Āpayā. This river is, as already stated, mentioned in association with Ilāyāspada, the Dṛṣadvatī, Mānuṣa and the Sarasvatī[106]. Das has expressed the probability of its being the same as Mārkaṇḍā or the Cataṅg. Being mentioned as it is in the verse it could not be the former, which flows in the north of the Sarasvatī and far away from Ilāyāspada and Mānuṣa. The (upper) Cataṅg, situated as it is between the two eastern Sarasvatīs and joining the easternmost one far above these two places, could not also represent it. The (lower) Cataṅg was in fact Āpayā in earlier days, but the present river of that name is only a branch of it that ran and is still running a quite different course. A river called the Āpagā is mentioned in the Mahābhārata[107] and is said to flow one Krośa east of Mānuṣa, while Ilāyāspada at Saraka is mentioned soon after it. Cunningham, supported by local traditions, has described this Āpagā (wrongly mentioned as 'also known as Aughvatī') as a branch of the (lower) Cataṅg, which separated from it a few miles west of Lāḍvā and ran past Palval and Pabanāvā for about twenty-five miles before being lost in the sand[108]. On the river Āpagā he has mentioned Candlānā (about three miles south-west of Pabanāvā), Pharal (in the Phalakivana of the Mahābhārata) further south-west and Godlī (Gadlī or Gadhlī of modern maps) still further in the same direction and between Kaithal and Mānas (Kedāra of Kapiṣṭhala and Mānuṣa of the Mahābhārata)[109]. This channel of the Āpagā is now represented by the recently rejuvenated (lower) Khāṇḍ. Obviously it is the same river as the Ṛgvedic Āpayā, which is, therefore, now represented by the (lower) Cataṅg and its northern branch *viz.* the (lower) Khāṇḍ in its upper course. Modern maps show it starting independently in the plains between Dughārī and Sultānpur about a quarter mile south

106. III-23-4. (see Chapter I, footnote 87).
107. Vana parva LXXXIII.
108. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XIV, pp. 88, 89, 101 & 104.
109. *Ibid* pp. 99, 100 & 101 as well as map of Kurukṣetra.

of the united bed of the two eastern Sarasvatīs and the (upper) Cataṅg which forms a 'V' in the north-west of its starting point. Older maps show it as branching off from that stream exactly at that point. It was thus a branch of the Sarasvatī. It runs west south-west up to one mile east of (northern) Behlolpur, then curves round south-eastwards past Navārsī to about half a mile west of Lāḍvā, where it is now joined by Rāksī. It then turns south-westwards and divides into two just below Bhoran, two miles below Lāḍvā. The upper branch, now called the (lower) Khāṇḍ, runs almost due west past Mathānā, Umrī and Palval and has been made to join the biggest lake of Kurukṣetra[110]. But according to the authorities quoted above, it used to flow in a more southerly direction from Palval to Pabnāvā passing the Pāvana lake a few miles in the south and disappeared beyond Candlānā in the last century; while in earlier days it ran further to Pharal and then to Gadlī *i.e.* between Mānuṣa and Ilāyāspada. Local tradition mentions it in the west of Kaithal as well. It can thus be clearly traced from the place of its origin to the west of Kaithal. Its further course is not mentioned anywhere, but there are two fragments of old beds further south-west, which may belong to this river. One of them is found from two miles and a half west of Lahariyān, past Sotar and Hasaṅg to about one mile south of Pālsar. Older maps show it further up in the north of Lahariyān and also connected by a *nālā* with the old bed of the Sarasvatī which runs close by further north and is known as the Sukrū. The other starts in two channels north of Moḍiā Kheḍā, two miles above the terminus of the Sirsā branch of the Western Yamunā canal. These two beds unite after a course of about four miles each and then run westwards with a very slight inclination towards north almost parallel to the bed of Ghaggar-Sarasvatī and past Mallhekā, Keśopurā, Koṭlī, Surbādh, Humāyūn Kheḍā and Śekhū Kheḍā to Maujā Kheḍā where it joins that bed. The old course of the Āpayā beyond Kaithal would, therefore, be roughly along Guhnā (Gobhavana of Mahābhārata[111], Ujhānā, Dhamtān, Pīrthalā, Lahariyān, Sotar, Pālsar, Fatehābād, Jodhkā, Shāhpur-Begū and Cauburjā to Moḍiā Kheḍā, below which it joined the Sarasvat sea in the earliest days and the Tṛṇabindu lake afterwards. When the lake got filled up it

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110. Pāvana of Mahābhārata, Vana parva, LXXXIII,
111. Vana parva LXXXIII.

went further past Mallehkā, Koṭlī etc. and joined the Ghaggar-Sarasvatī at Maujā-Kheḍā.

The lower branch thrown out by Āpayā-Āpagā-Cataṅg below Bhoran, being now bigger than the ancient main stream for some centuries, is still called Cataṅg. It runs west-south-west past Gādhilī and Kheḍī-Gādhiān, then southwards past Bairsāl and Butānā, from above which its course has now been straightened out into a canal. Recently a canal has been dug out of the river further up two miles west of the railway line. But the old bed up to Butānā is still clearly marked, though it is bound to disappear in due time as the water is diverted into a new canal. The river is known to have run from Butānā west-south-west past Pojam and Añjanthal to Sohlon, a little below which it resumes its natural course and runs along Sāmbhī to Baholā. It, then, turns almost due south and flows past Barās and Nisaṅg, then south-west past Dacor, Corkārsā, Rattak and Mūndh and is shown as lost about one mile east-south-east of Bāhari in modern maps. Older maps show it as proceeding still further past Poprā and joining the Dṛṣadvatī between Dhātrat and Āsan.

This is the only river that flows through the middle of the Kurukṣetra area at present, though it has no water except in the rainy season. But the Mahābhārata[112] mentions four rivers running through that area which are also known to the local traditions and have been mentioned by Cunningham, though some under different names. They are:

The Dṛṣadvatī Junior. It is mentioned in the Phalakī forest and near Madhuvaṭī in the Mahābhārata. Under the corrupt name Dṛṣaṭvatī and also Hiraṇyavatī, it is mentioned by local traditions and Cunningham[113] in connection with Pharal (the village of the Phalakī forest), Mevalī and Mohanā (in the Madhu forest, where Madhuvaṭī is located). Cunningham has further corrupted the name into Drupadvatī and Datpavatī in connection with the last two places. Its confluence with the Kauśikī is recognised at the last place. It would, thus, seem to have been a branch of the Āpagā, which came out near Pharal and joined the Kauśikī between Mevalī and Mohanā after a very short course.

All these three places *viz.* Pharal, Mevalī, and Mohanā are situated in the northern parts of Kurukṣetra about ten miles east of Kaithal. The

112. Vana parva LXXXIII.

113. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XIV, pp. 88, 100 & 101.

Dṛṣadvatī of these places cannot, therefore, be the river that formed the southern boundary of Kurukṣetra. There were thus two rivers named Dṛṣadvatī in post-Ṛgvedic days: one forming the southern boundary of Kurukṣetra and mentioned in the Ṛgveda, *viz.* the Raupyā-Dṛṣadvatī of the Mahābhārata and the other a branch of the Āpayā-Āpagā, not mentioned in the Saṁhitā, but flowing through the northern parts of the sacred tract and known as the Hiraṇyavatī-Dṛṣadvatī in later days.

The Kauśikī. This river is mentioned in the Mahābhārata only in connection with its confluence with the Hiraṇyavatī-Dṛṣadvatī near Madhuvaṭī. But according to local traditions and Cunningham it is at Kheḍī-Rāmnagar (misspelt Kheḍirā maṅgar by the latter), Nigdhu (or Nagdhu, misspelt Gandhu by the latter), Kopar (Koer of maps), Mevalī and Mohanā (the village in the Madhuvana and having Madhuvaṭī of the Mahābhārata at it) near which it is said to have united with the Hiraṇyavatī-Dṛṣadvatī.[114] Of these Kheḍī-Rāmnagar is situated in north-eastern parts of Kurukṣetra, about six miles west of Kheḍī Gādhiān. The name Kauśikī is obviously derived from the Kuśikas. Gādhilī is supposed to be a corruption of Gādhipurī *i. e.* the town of Gādhi or Gāthin, the father of Viśvāmitra Kauśika; while Kheḍī Gādhiān means the overflow settlement of Gādhis, *i. e.* the Kauśikas. The Ṛgveda indicates the Kuśikas to be connected with Bharatas, living between the Dṛṣadvatī and the Sarasvatī.

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[115] calls Viśvāmitra a leader of the Bharatas. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that the Kuśikas lived in the north-eastern parts of the Kurukṣetra through which the Kauśikī ran in its upper course with Gādhilī and Kheḍī-Gādhiān as their centres and thus gave their name to the river. This conclusion is further supported by a story mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa[116] that Satyavatī Kauśikī (the sister of Viśvāmitra, the wife of Ṛcīka Bhārgava and the mother of Jamadagni) went to heaven after the death of her husband and then became the river Kauśikī and that Viśvāmitra used to live on its banks before he retired to his hermitage.

This river Kauśikī is identified with the Kauśikī or Kosī in Bihār

114. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XIV pp. 100 & 101.

115. भरतर्षभ VII-3-17.

116. I-35.

by Griffith; vide his translation. But he and others of his view have ignored the fact that the story of Viśvāmitra as given in the Rāmāyaṇa is an obvious interpolation of later days, for the simple reason that Viśvāmitra, the son of Gādhi (or Gāthin) and uncle of Jamadagni (all of whom were Ṛgvedic ṛṣis and the former, a contemporary of Sudās Tṛtsu according to Ṛgveda[117] and of Triśaṅku and Hariścandra, the remote ancestors of Rāma Dāshrathī, according to later literature) could not be a contemporary of Rāma. The last editor of the Rāmāyaṇa added the story probably with a view to avoiding its being lost and he found an excuse because a much later descendant of Viśvāmitra was connected with the story of Rāma. The river Kauśikī, connected with the original, *i. e.* the Ṛgvedic Viśvāmitra (son of Gāthin Kauśika) and his elder sister Satyavatī (the mother of the Ṛgvedic Jamadagni), must be situated between the Raupyā-Dṛṣadvatī and the Sarasvatī and could be no other than the Kauśikī of Kurukṣetra mentioned in the Mahābhārata. The Kauśikī of Bihar must have got that name in later days when Videgha Māthava migrated from the Sarasvatī regions to the country beyond the Sadānīrā as mentioned in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa[118].

This legend also indicates that the Kauśikī river came into existence at a later period.

All these facts show that the Kauśikī of Kheḍī-Rāmnagar also flowed past Gādhilī and Kheḍī-Gādhiān. This means that it is now represented by the (lower) Cataṅg in its upper course and was, therefore, a branch of the Āpagā. It may, thus, be described as separating from the mother river somewhere below Lāḍvā and running west-south-westwards past Gādhilī and Kheḍī-Gādhiān to Kheḍī-Rāmnagar; then taking a more southerly course past Gitālpur where its old bed is still traceable for about one mile and a half between that village and Būḍhśām; then past Nigdhū and Kopar; then turning westwards and passing between Saṅgraulī in the north and Dusain and Ṭeonṭhā in the south, where again its old bed is still marked for about two miles and then between Mevalī and Mohanā, where it is said to have been joined by the Hiraṇyavatī-Dṛṣadvatī. Its further course is not mentioned anywhere; but probably it ran south-

117. III-53.
118. I-4-1-14 to 17.

westwards past Pūṇḍrī Sīslā, Deoban and (western) Bālū etc. and joined the Raupyā Dṛṣadvatī somewhere between Jīnd and Nārnaund.

This Kauśikī is also known as Madhuśravā in local tradition, probably because it flowed near Madhuvaṭī in the Madhu forest. It is mentioned by that name in the list of the nine rivers of Kurukṣetra[119], the name Kauśikī being applied to the Rāksī therein. It was also called the Svarṇavatī near Dusain.

The Gaṅgā of Mṛgdhūmā. This river, known as the Mandākinī Gaṅgā in local tradition and also according to Cunningham[120], is said to have run past Nigdhū or Nagdhū (wrongly spelt Gandhu[121]). A Gaṅgā Tīrtha is also mentioned at Dusain[122]. The Pañcatīrthī at Kopar[123A] is also said to include one called the Gaṅgā. A local tradition describes the confluence of the Mandākinī Gaṅgā with the Kauśikī at Nigdhū. But as that place is situated in the north of Kopar and north-east of Dusain, this Gaṅgā could not have united with the Kauśikī at Nigdhū and run parallel and close to it past Kopar and Dusain at one and the same time. It would thus appear that in the earlier days this Gaṅgā ran past Nigdhū, Kopar and Dusain and joined the Kauśikī about the last place, but at a later period began to do so at the first. It was obviously a branch of the Āpagā and might have come out somewhere between Thānesar and Bārnā.

The Vaitaraṇī. This river, always known by the same name, is mentioned near Triviṣṭapa, identified with the modern Ṭeonṭhā[123B]. It is not mentioned with any other place. It also came out of the Āpagā probably somewhere about Pabanāvā and after running a short course south-south-westwards joined the Kauśikī near Ṭeonṭhā.

Though these four branches of the Āpagā (of which the chief one was the Kauśikī) are mentioned in the Mahābhārata, they are not traceable in the Ṛgveda. Very likely, they did not exist in the ancient days and came into existence at a later period, as suggested by the legend of the birth of Kauśikī. The Āpayā, thus, very probably ran an undivided course

119. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XIV, p. 88.
120. *Ibid* p. 88.
121. *Ibid* p. 100.
122. *Ibid* p. 99.
123A. *Ibid* p. 100.
123B. Wrongly spelt as Dhodhā in *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XIV, p. 99.

towards west-south-west in the Ṛgvedic days. But after that period, it began to meet obstructions in the west and, therefore, started throwing out branches in a more southerly direction from Pharal upwards, commencing with the Hiraṇyavatī-Dṛṣadvatī and ending with the Kauśikī. Thus it came to have four branches at one time and was for that reason called the Caturaṅga (having four limbs), which got corrupt into Cautaṅg or Cataṅg in the vernacular and misspelt as Chetaṅg or Chitaṅg by European surveyors and scholars. As the obstruction in the west increased, it began to send more and more water into these branches and finally into the uppermost *viz.* the Kauśikī; while the ancient main stream shrank to a smaller and smaller size and began to be lost after a decreasingly shorter course with the passage of time. As a result of this the three lower branches completely disappeared. The last portion of the old course is still marked because it is situated in the desert, the middle one below Lahariyān because at some time it got a branch of the Sarasvatī joined to it and thus received some water for a longer period, while the remainder of the bed below the lake of Kurukṣetra has completely disappeared. The three lower branches have left no trace because they did not last very long and disappeared a long time ago. Ultimately the Āpayā-Āpagā-Cataṅg has almost completely disappeared leaving behind only the Kauśikī-Madhuśravā running further south, which naturally usurped the name Cataṅg. The existence of the two fragments of its old bed near Gītalpur and Saṅgraulī shows that the Kauśikī-Madhuśravā ran through that area for a longer time than the other three branches and till a later period after the disappearance of those three as well as the old Āpayā-Āpagā. It was probably at this time when the Kauśikī-Madhuśravā came to be called the Cataṅg, that the former name was transferred to the lower course of the Rāksī. In course of time, the Kauśikī-Cataṅg met resistance in the west below Gādhilī and gradually shifted more and more south-eastwards, till it came to occupy the old bed of the Rāksī from Nisaṅg downwards and in which it still flows when it has enough water. A transitional course is still represented by two fragments of an old bed, one about one mile and a half long in the north-east of Amīn and the other about half a mile long in the south-south-east of Ahbalā. It thus ran from Kheḍī-Gādhīān past Bodhī, Sodhī, Amīn, Ahbalā, Sāṅvat and Baholā etc. at one time before occupying its present channel.

As stated above, the Āpayā-Āpagā-Cataṅg had almost disappeared,

till it was rejuvenated as the (lower) Khāṇḍ recently and made to join the Pāvana lake of Kurukṣetra.

The gradual shrinking of the present river *viz.* the Sarasvatī has naturally also affected the surviving streams of the Āpayā and reduced them to what they are now.

Mahābhārata[124] also mentions a river called the Ambumatī near Kāśīśvara and Mātri. Local traditions have changed this name into Aṁśu-matī and Cunningham has also mentioned it by the same name[125]. It is still associated with Kāśīśvara[126] which is identified with Lakhnor or Maṇḍī, situated twelve miles west-south-west of Pehoā. It is not described in connection with any other place. This Ambu-(or Aṁśu-) matī would, therefore, be a branch of the Sarasvatī, which very probably parted a little above and rejoined the parent stream a little below Māṇḍī.

The nine traditional rivers of Kurukṣetra were thus :—

1. *The bigger or the Raupyā Dṛṣadvatī of the Ṛgveda,* which formed the southern boundary and is now represented by the Hānsī-Hisār branch of the western Yamunā Canal in that area.

2. *The Rākṣī-Kauśikī or the Ṛgvedic Rākā,* which is now represented by the (upper) Naī and flows along the south-eastern border of the holy tract when it has any water.

3. *The Kauśikī-Madhuśravā,* not mentioned in the Ṛgveda, was a branch of the Āpayā-Āpagā-Caturaṅga and ran through the central parts of Kurukṣetra from east to west with a slight inclination towards south. It is now represented by the (lower) Cataṅg, which runs in a more southerly direction from below Gādhilī. It was also called the Svarṇavatī near Dusaīn.

4. *The Gaṅgā of Mṛgadhūma or Mandākinī Gaṅgā,* which was the second branch of the Āpayā-Āpagā-Caturaṅga and joiṅed the Kauśikī-Madhu-śravā is not mentioned in the Ṛgveda and has now completely dis-appeared.

5. *The Vaitaraṇī* which was the third branch of the Āpayā-Āpagā-Caturaṅga. It also joined the Kauśikī-Madhuśravā. It is also not mentioned in the Ṛgveda and is now completely lost.

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124. Vana parva LXXXIII.
125. *Archaeological Survey of India Report,* vol. XIV, p. 88.
126. Wrongly called 'Kāmeśvara' by Cunningham; *Ibid* p. 100.

6. *The smaller or the Hiraṇyavatī-Dṛṣadvatī* was the fourth branch of the Āpayā-Āpagā-Caturaṅga joined the Kauśikī-Madhuśravā. It is also not mentioned in the Ṛgveda and has completely disappeared.

7. *The Āpagā-Caturaṅga or the Ṛgvedic Āpayā*, which ran through the northern parts of Kurukṣetra from east to west with slight inclination towards south. It has also almost completely disappeared together with its three lower branches, but has been recently rejuvenated as the (lower) Khāṇḍ and made to fall into the main lake of Kurukṣetra (the Pāvana).

Judging from these facts, it appears that the four branches thrown out southwards by the Āpayā were in reality its efforts to shift its course in a more southerly direction when it met obstruction in the west, which appear to have moved up gradually eastwards. As will be seen later on, the Sarasvatī has moved only slightly northwards below Makurar. I cannot trace any such movements of Dṛṣadvatī. The obstruction, therefore, appears to have been effective mainly in the valley of Āpayā between the Dṛṣadvatī in the south and the Sarasvatī in the north and only slightly in that of the Sarasvatī.

8. *The Ambu-(later on called the Aṁśu-) matī*, which was only a branch of the Sarasvatī round about Lakhnor or Māṇḍī.

9. *The Sarasvatī* was the most important river of ancient India and formed the northern limit of the holy area.

The Tīrtha called 'Sapta Sārasvata', which means 'of seven Sarasvatīs' and which is identified by local traditions as well as by Cunningham[127] with Māṅgnā, has nothing whatever to do with the number of rivers of Kurukṣetra. Cunningham's suggestion, that the Madhuśravā (which he confuses with a Tīrtha of the same name at Pehoā) and the Vaitaraṇī (which he for no apparent reasons suspects to be only another name of the Dṛṣadvatī or Rāksī) be omitted from the list, is uncalled for.

I know that I have gone out of my way to discuss these rivers but as they help in elucidating the history of the Āpayā and as their identification may be of interest to certain sections of my countrymen, I crave the indulgence of the learned readers.

The Sarasvatī. There are at present above Rāmnagar four streams bearing the name Sarasvatī, with the (upper) Cataṅg situated between first and second and the (upper) Khāṇḍ between second and third from

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127. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XIV, pp. 89 and 100.

the east. All these six streams unite above or at that village to form the Sarasvatī of Kurukṣetra. The first and second Sarasvatīs unite with the (upper) Cataṅg higher up. The (upper) Khāṇḍ and third Sarasvatī unite after a short course and their combined stream and the fourth Sarasvatī join the others near Rāmnagar. The (upper) Cataṅg, which is, and appears to have been for some centuries, the biggest of the lot, is thus joined by four streams during its course and that is very probably the reason why it came to be known as the Caturaṅga (four limbed) in later days.

The first Sarasvatī now starts in the plains near Rāmpur Heḍiān almost half-way between Bilāspur and Kāṭgaḍh. But according to local tradition, also noted by Cunningham[128], the most sacred and eastern source of the Sarasvatī is said to be the Ādi-Badarī Kuṇḍa north of Kāṭgaḍh, while the latter is still remembered to be the place where the sacred stream came out of the hills. This Kuṇḍa receives its water supply from khols (hill streams) of Bhairon and Mātar, the two uniting a little above it. The stream rising from the Kuṇḍa and called the Yār-Badarī is still held to be the uppermost channel of the sacred stream that used to come out of the hills at Kāṭgaḍh to form the first Sarasvatī in earlier days. At present it joins the Som, about one mile south-east of that place. Older maps show it as throwing out a branch a little above Kāṭgaḍh, which after passing Rañjītpur, (northern) Sultānpur Gulāb-Mājrā and Mughlāvālī entered the bed of the first Sarasvatī at Rāmpur-Heḍiān. It must have been sending all its water through this channel into the Sarasvatī before Fīroz Shāh Tughluq got it diverted eastwards into the Som. The first Sarasvatī was, thus, a continuation of the Yār-Badarī in pre-Fīroz days.

The (upper) Cataṅg rises from a complicated network of sub-mountainous nālās situated between Rāmpur Heḍiān in the east and Sāḍhaurā in the west.

The second Sarasvatī now rises as a surface water drain about three-fourths of a mile south-east of Sāḍhaurā. But according to the local tradition, also noted by Cunningham[129], the Sadādenī (or Nakṭī) formed by the Sūkar, the Phandū and the Khuṇḍrā Khols (hill streams) was the westernmost source of the Sarasvatī in old days, and not an affluent of the Mārkaṇḍā as it is today. It must have, therefore, run past Sāḍhaurā in the

128. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XIV, p. 75.
129. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XIV, p. 72.

south-east and up to the bed of the second Sarasvatī in earlier days instead of running north of that town and joining the Mārkaṇḍā as it does now.

The (upper) Khāṇḍ is shown as starting in the plains one mile and a half south of Kulāvar in modern maps, but from older ones it appears to be a branch of the second Sarasvatī, which came out from it at the 'V' formed by it about one mile north-west of Jagdhaulī and about three miles north of Kulāvar. It was thus a branch of the second Sarasvatī and not an independent affluent.

The third Sarasvatī now starts in the plains one mile west of Dhālur and only a few hundred yards from the second Sarasvatī, which runs in a curve from north-west to south-east there. Older maps show it as coming out of the latter exactly at that place. It was, therefore, only another branch of the second Sarasvatī and not an independent tributary.

The fourth Sarasvatī now starts further south in the plains west of Gondhānā and one mile west of the combined stream of the (upper) Khāṇḍ and the third Sarasvatī. Older maps trace it as coming out of the latter just below Goṇdhānī. It was thus only a sub-branch of the second Sarasvatī.

The last mentioned three being merely offshoots of the second Sarasvatī, there were only three real affluents of this river as mentioned in Ṛgveda where it is described as having three origins or sources[130] and also probably in Atharva Veda[131], where three Sarasvatīs are mentioned. They are:—

1. The Yār-Badarī formed by the Khols of Bhairon and Mātar and which, if not diverted into the Som, would be running due south into the present first Sarasvatī. It may be called the eastern Sarasvatī.

2. The complicated network of *nālās* which give rise to the (upper) Catang *i. e.* the middle or Caturaṅga Sarasvatī.

3. The Nakṭī or Sadādenī, very probably the Śardaṇḍā of Rāmāyaṇa[132] and the Śarāvatī of Pāṇini[133], Jayāditya[134] and Amara, which is formed by Khols of Sūkar, Phandū and Khundrā and which used to form the western Sarasvatī before it changed its course and began to join the Mārkaṇḍā. The Sadādenī is identified with the Śardaṇḍā as the envoys

130. त्रिषधस्था VI-61-12.

131. VI-100-1.

132. II-LXVIII-15.

133. VI-3-120.

134. Kārikā in I-1-75.

from Ayodhyā are said to have reached it after passing through Kurujaṅgala on their way to Girivraja. The Śarāvatī is said to be the boundary between Udīcya and Prācya *i. e.* the north and the east. The same is said about the Sarasvatī, of which the Sadādenī was the westernmost affluent. It is further very likely that Śarāvatī was the name of modern Sadādenī and was occasionally applied to the Sarasvatī also after their confluence.

The eastern Sarasvatī now runs past Gopālmocan (Kapālmochan of Cunningham[135]) and Bilāspur and joins the Middle Sarasvatī two miles west of Mandhar.

The western Sarasvatī runs from Sāḍhaurā to Ḍhālur, where it threw out a branch, the third Sarasvatī. It then flows almost due south about a mile north-west of Jagdhaulī, where it threw out another branch, the (upper) Khāṇḍ. It then runs a zig zag course south-eastwards and joins the middle Sarasvatī about two miles below Kulcandū.

The combined stream of the three, then, runs past Bālchappar, Kotar Khānā, Choṭī-Kanhḍī, Khānpur, Sukhdāspur, Baḍī-Kanhḍī, Siālbā, Jhār Candanā, Kheḍī-Lakkhā-Singh, Kheḍkī, Dugharī and Sultānpur. Between the last two it gave rise to the Āpayā-Āpagā-Caturaṅga [the (lower) Cataṅg]. It then runs past Rāmnagar near which it is joined by two of the offshoots of the western Sarasvatī.

The (upper) Khāṇḍ runs south-south-west past the two Mansūrpurs and Mustafābād and is joined by the third Sarasvatī about two miles below the last place.

The third Sarasvatī runs south-south-west from Dhālur past Sārdāheḍī, Murādpur and Jahāngīrpur, about where it threw out a branch westwards which ran towards Duliānī. It then passes Dhīn, where it throws out another branch south-westwards. Then it goes almost due south and joins the (upper) Khāṇḍ as mentioned above.

The combined stream of the two runs past Gondhānī, where it threw out the fourth Sarasvatī, then past Gondhānā, Masānā, Hartān, Gahlaur and Guṇḍhā and joins the combined stream of the three Sarasvatīs near Rāmnagar.

135. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XIV, p. 75.

As far as I could trace, none of these streams of the Sarasvatī is mentioned by special name in the Ṛgveda. But there are reasons to believe that they existed in that age though perhaps not exactly at the present sites.

The combined stream of six or [counting the (upper) Khāṇḍ and the third Sarasvatī which unite higher up, as one] five, then, runs south-westwards past Rāmgaḍh and Pīplī, below which it forms the northern boundary of Kurukṣetra and passes along the numerous holy spots situated between Pīplī and Beharjaccha[136] in that area. This confirms the mention of five tributary rivers of the Sarasvatī in Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā[137].

The Akṣarā. The branch thrown out by the third Sarasvatī at Dhīn and now known as the Liṇḍha used to run past Barārā, Dhoā, Lakhmarī, Bīḍ-Kālvā, Sujrā, Sujrī, Dhantorī, Masānā, Khānpur-Koliān, Kaserṭā, Adhaun and Ghamur-Kheḍī and joined the combined stream of the other five about one mile south of Dābkheḍī and four miles below Thānesar. This bed has now disappeared in parts here and there in the middle, but is distinctly marked at the two ends and is easily traceable elsewhere after heavy rains. It is very probably the Akṣarā of the one verse where it is mentioned as having thousand currents[138] and in the other where it is called the swift moving[139], and is mentioned between the Sarasvatī in the preceding and Aramati in the succeeding verses.

The Aramati. The remaining branch thrown out by the third Sarasvatī, further up ran past Duliāni, Ugālā, Bāvā, Jaṇḍheḍī, Teorī, Kaṭlāheḍī, Ajrānī, Udārsī and Bālāhī and joined the combined stream of the other six about two miles further down than the Liṇḍhā. This stream in now called the Beton. Its course is also not well defined in parts here and there now, but is quite distinct elsewhere. It is very probably this river, which is called the Aramati in a verse[140] after a mention of the Sarasvatī and the Akṣarā in the two previous verses. Ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha

136. Arantuka of *Mahābhārata*, Vana parva LXXXIII.
137. XXXIV-11.
138. सहस्त्रिणी VII-15-9.
139. अक्षरा चरन्ती VII-36-7.
140. प्र वो महीमरमतिं कृणुध्वं प्र पूषणं विदथ्यं न वीरम्।
भगं धियोऽवितारं नो अस्याः सातौ वाजं रातिषाचं पुरंधिम्। VII-36-8.

prays to the Devas to make the Aramati great, meaning probably full of water.[141] It is also mentioned in another verse where Agni is requested to bring the deified great Aramati[142] to accept the offerings of the ṛṣi Atri. In another verse Vasiṣṭha prays to it to bring wealth to him[143] and in yet another verse he describes it as connected with sacrifices[144], and requests Agni to bring it. It is also mentioned by Manu Vaivasvata.[145] Elsewhere it is associated with Bṛhaspati[146] while in another verse the floods are said to have run along the great Aramati.[147] It would thus appear that it was considered to be an important river at least from sentimental point of view.

The Akṣarā is mentioned only by Vasiṣṭha, who mentions the Aramati also more frequently than any other ṛṣi. Vasiṣṭha is associated with a place called Vadaripācana north-east of Thānesar on the Sarasvatī[148].

This place is now called Vasiṣṭha Prācī. It is on account of this fact as well as their mention in that order after the Sarasvatī[149], that I have identified the Akṣarā and the Aramati with the Liṇḍhā and the Beton.

The Aramati is associated with Bṛhaspati.[150] The other rivers associated with that deified ancestor of the Bhāradvājas are Aṁśumatī, on the banks of which he is said to have defeated the Kṛṣṇas,[151] and the Anumatī.[152] The other four rivers deified and, with the sole exception of the Sarasvatī, looked upon as the most important from ritualistic point of view were the Guṅgū (or Kuhū of the Atharva Veda), the Sinīvālī, the Rākā and the

141. महीमरमतिं कृणुध्वं VII-36-8.
142. महीमरमतिं देवीं V-43-6.
143. अरमतिर्वसूयु: VII-34-21.
144. यज्ञियामरमतिं VII-42-3.
145. अरमति: VIII-31-12.
146. बृहस्पतिररमति: पनीयसी X-64-15.
147. सिन्धवस्तिरो महीमरमतिं X-92-5.
148. Mahābhārata, Vana parva LXXXIII; Śalya XLII (Where Vasiṣṭha is said to have lived in the east of Sthānu on the Sarasvatī) and XLVIII.
149. in VII-36-6, 7 & 8.
150. X-64-15 (see footnote 146).
151. VIII-96-13 to 15.
152. X-167-3.

Bṛhaddivā. Curiously enough in the Mahābhārata[153], Bṛhaspati Āṅgirasa, the chief representative of Ṛgvedic ritualism is said to have seven sisters who represented the chief sacrificial fires. They are, in order of seniority, as follow :—

1. *Bhānumatī* (The eldest and the most beautiful). It appears to be the same as the Ṛgvedic Aṁśumatī (the later Vadhūsarā-Duhān), the biggest of these seven rivers. Both the names Aṁśumatī and Bhānumatī are connected with the sun.

2. *Rāgā*, an obvious corruption of the Vedic Rākā, is said to have been so named because she was loved by all. The Rākā, now called the Rāksī, is the next biggest river of the lot.

3. *Sinīvālī*, is described as of very slender built so that she was visible at times and invisible at others. This means that the river of that name was not permanent at that time but had water only now and then. She is also called the Rudrasutā (the daughter of Śiva). As far as I know, no daughter of Śiva is mentioned anywhere else. The epithet probably refers to its other name, the Soma, which is said to be worn by Śiva in the form of the moon on his head.

4. *Arciṣmatī*, described as of great refulgence, is obviously the Bṛhaddivā of the Ṛgveda which has the same meaning.

5. *Haviṣmatī*, (the acceptor of offerings), is probably another name for Anumati (the divine favour).

6. *Māhiṣmatī* (the pious) is the same as Aramati (the devoted one).

7. Mahāmatī or Kuhū *i.e.* the Ṛgvedic Guṅgū, is the smallest river of the lot.

These ritualistic sisters of Bṛhaspati, the deified representative of the Ṛgvedic ritualism, were, thus, in reality seven deified rivers of the South-eastern Sapta Saindhava. This must be due to the fact that all the ancient Brāhmaṇa families *viz.* the Uterine Bhārgavas (later on known as the Jamadagnis), the Śunakas (descendants of Gṛtsamada adopted by Śunaka Bhārgava), the Bhāradvāja and the Gautama Āṅgirases, the Vasiṣṭhas, the Kaśyapas, the Atris, the Agastyas, and the Viśvāmitras were believed to have lived and invented and developed the Vedic rituals on the banks of these rivers and the Sarasvatī.

The Sarasvatī is then joined by the Mārkaṇḍā, through several mouths

153. Vana parva CC XVII.

both above and below Pehoā at present. But as will be explained in its proper place, this river used to join the Sarasvatī further down in earlier days. But Mahābhārata[154] and Śalya[155] speak of a river called Aruṇā as joining the Sarasvatī a little above Pṛthudaka in the former and above Vasiṣṭhapavahā (in the east of the Pṛthudaka where Vasiṣṭha was brought from his residence in the east of Sthāṇu by the Sarasvatī at the command of Viśvāmitra) in the latter. Local tradition as well as Cunningham[156] describe the confluence at three miles north-east of Pehoā near Urṇāi (Aruṇāi) village. Cunningham has identified this river with the Mārkaṇḍā, presumably because its lower course has been occupied by that river for some time. The lowest remnant of its old bed is in fact situated between the second and the third mouths of that river at present. But Mahābhārata[157] at one place speaks of the Sarasvatī having assumed a new form called the Aruṇā and at another place it describes the Aruṇā being absent from that site in old days and the Sarasvatī going to the Aruṇā and flooding the latter with its own waters. These statements show that the Aruṇā was known to be a branch of the western Sarasvatī, which it began to throw out westwards beyond the Beton some time after the Ṛgvedic age, the legend containing these statements was based upon a much exaggerated and embellished later version of the quarrel between Viśvāmitra and the Vasiṣṭhas. It was, therefore, not an independent river as the Mārkaṇḍā, which is formed by several other streams besides the Sadādenī, is. The Aruṇā of the Mahābhārata cannot, thus, be the present Mārkaṇḍā which used to join the Sarasvatī further down in old days.

The upper course of the Aruṇā is now represented by three fragments of its old bed. The lowest one is traceable from Ajrānā north-eastwards past Kheḍā-Ahmadpur and Tevra to Kiśangaḍh; the second further up in the same direction from Rāvā to Sohātā and the third from between Sohātā and Ugālā to about one mile below Taṇḍvālī. It would thus appear to be a branch of the ancient Aramati (the modern Beton) and seems to have come out somewhere about Duliānī and run past Rājāvālī and the other villages mentioned above to Ajrānā, and then probably

154. LXXXIII.
155. XLIII.
156. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XIV, p. 102.
157. Śalya XLIII.

through a channel which now looks like a branch of the first arm of Mārkaṇḍā but is likely to be the old bed of Aruṇā. It runs past Duniā-Mazrā and Bhusthalā and is lost near Pīplī-Mazrā, but restarts half a mile west of that place and goes up to Bickī. In older days it ran a more westerly course probably past Kanthalā to Tālheḍī, and then past Chājūpur to Urṇāi, below which it joined the Sarasvatī.

As indicated by Mahābhārata-Śalya, it did not exist in ancient days and is not traceable in the Ṛgveda.

The Sarasvatī was, thus, originally formed by its three principal affluents and the four branches of the westernmost of them. Looked at from below Thānesar, it may be imagined as formed by seven streams. It may, thus, be described as bearer of (the waters of) seven (rivers)[158]. Again if one of them (very likely the easternmost because it is supposed to be the most sacred) be taken as the main river, it may be described as the seventh and mother of (six other) famous rivers, which made their way (to it like children) roaring and swelling (it with lot of water) as is stated there[159]. If it be remembered that the ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha very probably lived near Thānesar, as indicated by Mahābhārata[160] (and[161]), the meaning of the verse becomes quite clear.

The epithet Saptasvasā[162] will be explained in its proper place when all the seven sister rivers of the Sarasvatī have been identified. But Māṅgnā, situated between Pehoā and Beharjaccā has been called Sapta Sārasvat in the Mahābhārata and local traditions. In the Mahābhārata it[163] is explained that it was so called because there were seven rivers in the world known as the Sarasvatī *viz.* (1) The Suprabhā near Puṣkara, (2) The Kañcanākṣī in the Naimiṣa forest, (3) the Viśālā near Gayā, (4) Manoramā in the northern Kośala, (5) Oghavatī in Kurukṣetra (*i.e.* the original Sarasvatī), (6) Sureṇu near the sources of the Gaṅgā and (7) the Vimalodakā in the Himavat forest. All of these are said to unite at Sapta Sārasvat. The

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158. सप्तधातुः ।
159. आ यत्साकं यशसो वावशानाः सरस्वती सप्तथी सिन्धुमाता ।
याः सुष्वयन्त सुदुघाः सुधारा अभि स्वेन पयसा पीप्यानाः ॥ VII-36-6.
160. Vana parva LXXXIII.
161. Śalya XLII and XLVIII.
162. सप्तस्वसा ।
163. Śalya XXXVIII.

explanation is absurd on the face of it and is an interpolation of later days, as those seven rivers are situated in widely separated parts of Northern India. The Lūnī, still known as the Sarasvatī in the neighbourhood of the Puṣkara, runs through south-western Rājasthāna and Gujarāt and falls into the Rann of Kaccha (Cutch). The other five appear to be the tributaries of Gaṅgā. A study of the valley of the Sarasvatī below Pehoā, however, shows that at one time this river divided itself into seven streams below that town the courses of which are partially traceable even now, *viz.* four in the north and three in the south of Māṅgnā. The first two in the immediate north of that village are still used by the river whenever it has enough water in that region. The others get filled up only after heavy rains. All these seven streams reunite above Sothā, the Ambu- (Aṁśu-) matī of Kāśīśvara and Mātri (at Māṇḍi village) being one of them. Māṅgnā, thus, got the name Sapta Sārasvat because it was situated between these seven branches or streams of the Sarasvatī. It had nothing to do with the total number of rivers of Kurukṣetra as supposed by Cunningham or with the seven rivers named Sarasvatī in different parts of India as imagined by the author of the story[164]. The list given in that section shows that Oghavatī was another name of the Sarasvatī itself and not of the Āpayā or Āpagā as stated by Cunningham.

The next and the first independent river joining the Sarasvatī, *viz.* the Mārkaṇḍā, does so from one mile above Murtazāpur to within four miles below Pehoā through several mouths at present. But the evidence of the still existing fragments of its old bed in the north of Beharjaccā on the one hand, and north-west of Urṇāi on the other show that it used to join the Sarasvatī between Beharjaccā and Sāgrā in earlier days.

The Ḍ (T) āṅghrī (or Umlā) now joins the Ghagghar near Tatiānā, but the evidence of its old bed, which runs close by, proves that these two rivers united about twenty miles further down in earlier days. Besides the still well-marked old bed of the Ghagghar runs further west parallel to the present one up to Śatraṅg and then to the Sarasvatī, which it joins three miles above Akālgaḍh. It would, thus, appear that the course joining the Sarasvatī at Sāgrā really belongs to the Ḍāṅghrī, and got later on occupied by the Ghagghar.

The Sarasvatī was thus joined by the Mārkaṇḍā between Behar-

164. Śalya XXXVIII.

jaccā and Sāgrā and by the Ḍāṅghrī (or Umlā) at the latter place in earlier days. The stream below Sāgrā is now called the Ghagghar, but the presence of the old bed of that river running parallel to it in the north indicates that that river ran separately and further north in earlier days. The present channel of the combined stream, therefore, belongs to the Sarasvatī, which ran south-westwards past Pākhī, Khanaurī, Chandū and Māṇḍvī to about two miles below Makurar. At present it, then, turns north-westwards and unites with the old bed of the Ghagghar about one mile and a half further down. But its old bed, now known as Sukrū, is still clearly marked and shows that in earlier days it continued running south-westwards past Rāmpurā, Cīlevāl, Handālvālā, Dhārsūl, and Zabtīvālā, about four miles below which the course has been straightened out in connection with the Raṅgoī, inundation canal and runs past Mohammadpur, Aharvān and Hijrāon, two miles beyond which it is lost. But as the name Sirsā (Sarasvā) indicates, the Sarasvatī ran further west probably past Sadārkī, Singhā, and Darbī to Sirsā and was probably joined by the Ghagghar either at Kelanpur, or a little further down in the west of Lahanur. It may be that it sent a branch about Sirsā via Maṅgalā to join Āpayā between Mādho Siṅghānā and Mallehkā. It then ran past Oṭū and entered the marshy areas round Khaḍyāl (Ellenābād), in which it used to be joined by the Āpayā at Maujā Kheḍā. As already explained this area was a lake known as the Dhanur till recently, the Tṛṇabindu in the Mahābhārata days and the north-eastern corner of the Sarasvat sea in the earliest known period. The Sarasvatī thus joined the Sarasvat sea below Oṭū in the earliest days and we leave its course here for the present.

The Sarasvatī is generally recognised as the most important river of the Ṛgveda, though its identity has been questioned by some scholars. But there is not a scrap of evidence to prove that the name Sarasvatī was applied to the Sindhu or any other river in those days as suggested by Zimmer, Griffith[165] and others, who could not see their way to believe that the now insignificant stream bearing that name could have ever been the mighty river that it appears to have been from the verses and hymns in its praise. In some verses[166], both the Sarasvatī and the Sindhu are mentioned side by side with the Sarayu intervening between them in the

165. See Griffith's note in connection with his translation of VI-61-2.
166. *e. g.* X-64-9 and 75-5 & 6.

former and many other rivers in the latter. In the former verse all the three are described as large rivers with huge waves[167], in the latter it is one of the seven principal rivers addressed. The theory of these scholars is, therefore, untenable. In fact, it was a mighty river and ran direct from hills to the sea as mentioned in one verse[168], and as described above.

The fact that the Sarasvatī joined the sea is mentioned in three places in the Mahābhārata also. Firstly, it is said to join the sea near Prabhāsa[169] which, according to this and other sections[170] was situated on the western sea coast. Secondly, at the end of the section mentioned above after the mention of Vinaśana, Shasayāna, Kumāra Koṭī and Rudra Koṭī, in that order, along the later course of the Sarasvatī from below upwards towards Kurukṣetra, which is described in the next section. Thirdly[171], Prabhāsa is said to belong to the Sarasvatī. The first and third refer to the same place on the south-eastern coast of Saurāṣṭra. But the second refers to a different site.

From the way in which various places are described in the Mahābhārata[172], *i.e.* mostly at considerable distances, from each other, this Rudra-Koṭī appears to be situated well above Vinaśana and far below Kurukṣetra.

Vinaśana was the name given to the place where the Sarasvatī disappeared in the desert to reappear at Camasodbheda[173]. It is also mentioned in the Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa[174], Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra[175] and Mānava Dharma Śāstra[176] and is described as the western limit of Madhyadeśa in the last. It is also alluded to in Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra[177], where Āryāvarta is said to lie east of the region where the Sarasvatī disappears. The Sarasvatī is not mentioned by name, but as gene-

167. ऊर्मिभिर्महो महीरवसा X-64-9.
168. शुचिर्यती गिरिभ्य आ समुद्रात्, VII-95-2.
169. in Vana parva LXXXII.
170. *i. e.* LXXXVIII and Mausala III.
171. Śalya XXXV.
172. Vana parva LXXXII.
173. Vide Vana parva LXXXII, & CXXX and also implied in Śalya XXXV.
174. XXV-10-1.
175. X-15-1.
176. II-21.
177. I-2-9.

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rally accepted, it could not be any other river. The latter manuscript of Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra[178] also speaks of Āryāvarta being in the east of Adarśana, which is interpreted to mean the site of the disappearance of the Sarasvatī, though originally the word was Ādarśa *i.e.*, the Ādarśa mountains, very probably the Sulemān range. The Sarasvatī is said to have disappeared at Vinaśana owing to its contempt for the Niṣādas, whose domain started about that place according to Mahābhārata[179] and as a result of its abhorrence for the Śūdra Ābhiras who lived in that region according to the Mahābhārata[180]. The Dasyu Ābhiras are described as living near the sacred Drumakulya sea in the Rāmāyaṇa[181].

In Mahābhārata[182] Camasodbheda is said to be the place where the Sarasvatī was joined by other rivers. The Sindhu is described close by and Prabhāsa is mentioned further on. From another verse of the same Parva[183] Camasodbheda appears to be in the north of the mouth of the Sindhu and also that of the Sarasvatī at Prabhāsa. From Śalya[184] it appears to be above Prabhāsa, but below Udapana and Vinaśana along the course of the Sarasvatī. It must, therefore, be the place where at one time the Satluj and the Indus—the latter after or without first uniting with the combined stream of the Biās, the Rāvi, the Aik, the Canāb and the Jhelum and in case of non-confluence with the Indus the combined stream of these five rivers as well joined the Sarasvatī and where the Sarasvatī could have its own water after crossing the desert in a subterranean stream past Udapana as stated in the Mahābhārata[185]. The Meru mentioned in the latter section is obviously a mistake for Maru *i.e.* the desert of Rājasthān. This Camasodbheda, as will be seen later on, was situated about ten miles north of Ālor, the ruins of which are found near Rohḍī in the Sindh Province (now in Pakistan). It may be noted here that in Mahābhārata[186], this place is said to have been situated on the sea-coast according to the sayings of the Vipras (the learned

178. 1-8.
179. Vana parva CXXX.
180. Śalya XXXVII.
181. VI-XXII.
182. Vana parva CXXX.
183. Vana parva LXXXII.
184. XXXV.
185. XXXV Śalya parva and LXXXII Vana parva (the name being not mentioned in the latter).
186. Vana parva LXXXVIII.

men), presumably in earlier days; thus proving that at one time almost the whole of the Sindh was under the sea.

Udapana, with a deep well or pit and situated near the bank of the Sarasvatī and into which its subterranean stream appeared, seems to be the modern Udasar about two miles from the right bank of the now dry bed of that river and about seven miles to the north-east of Anūpgaḍh in Bīkāner district.

The last remnant of the Drumakulya sea was situated a few miles in the north of the dry bed of the Sarasvatī between Anūpgaḍh and Sardārgaḍh in the same state. The domains of the Niṣādas and (or) the unorthodox Ābhiras would, therefore, be situated about Sardārgaḍh and Anūpgaḍh.

Vinaśana would, thus, be situated somewhere above Sardārgaḍh and probably at or about Sūratgaḍh in the days referred to in the sections of the Mahābhārata referred to above.

Śasayāna is said to be the place, where all the Puṣkaras, *i. e.* Tīrthas or holy places, collected in the water of the Sarasvatī every year on the full moon day of the month of Kārtika. In other words, it was supposed to be the most sacred place for that day just as Gaḍh-mukteśvar has been considered in later days. It, therefore, appears to be Bhaṭner (now called Hanumāngaḍh in district Bīkāner) which is a very famous ancient place existing in that area.

There are no clues to locate the two Koṭīs. But there are two places in Sirsā Tehsīl, at present, called Cical Koṭlī and Koṭlī and situated on the right and left banks of the dry bed of the Sarasvatī, ten miles west-north-west and four miles south-west from Oṭū respectively. They may possibly now represent the Rudra and Kumāra Koṭīs.

As already stated, the area to the south-west of Oṭū was a marsh, named the Dhanur lake till recently and is still so to some extent. As also stated, it was a lake called the Tṛṇabindu in earlier days and was the north-eastern corner of the Sarasvat sea in ancient days. The bed of the Ghagghar-Sarasvatī still appears to expand out suddenly a little below Oṭu. It, therefore, appears to be the place where the Sarasvatī was remembered to have joined the Sarasvat sea in Ṛgvedic days.

The Mahābhārata, thus, recognises two different sites of the union of the Sarasvatī with the sea; one, very probably, below Oṭū in Hisār district on the north-eastern border of the desert (*i.e.* with the Sarasvat sea); the other at Prabhāsa, on the Saurāṣṭra coast of the then receded Parāvat or western (*i. e.* the modern 'Arabian') sea.

Amara in his lexicon has described the Sarasvatī as the boundary between Udīcya and Prācya *i.e.* the northern and eastern divisions of India, and according to his early commentator, it fell into the western sea. The Arab conquerors of the Sindh in the 8th century A. D. found another great river flowing through that province in the east of the Indus and named it the Great Mihrān, which was the same as the Hakrā (Hakḍā) or Vahindāh, *i.e.* the Sarasvatī (Chanda[187]). Utbī, the Muslim historian of the eleventh century A. D., has described the Sarasvatī as "having its bed full of large stones, and with precipitous banks, and impetuous stream'[188]. Cunningham has traced its course under the name Citraṅga (Caturaṅga *i.e.* Cataṅg, which may indicate that the Dṛṣadvatī was a live river up to Māṇakṭherī in his days), Sotrā and Rainī from Oṭū right up to about ten miles north of the ruins of Ālor, where he has shown it as joined by another river, the Nārā, which branched off from the modern course of the Indus about twenty-five miles above the confluence and which he has described as the 'ancient course of the Indus'[189]. The authorities quoted above indicate the lower course of the Nārā of these maps to be the continuation of Sarasvatī joined by the Indus or at least a branch of the Indus. But, the facts mentioned by Cunningham[190] definitely prove that the Indus did flow in this channel till about the end of the 7th century A. D. The statements of the Mahābhārata and that of the early commentator of Amara, therefore, prove that the Indus was looked upon as a mere tributary and the Sarasvatī as the main river, in spite of the fact that the latter used to disappear at Vinaśana far above the confluence, in later days. According to Cunningham, the united Sindhu-Sarasvatī, *i. e.* his Nārā, ran almost due south for about 110 miles up to Jakrāv, where it divided into two main branches with at least two more offshoots between them. The easternmost branch, which he calls the Nārā, must have been looked upon as the Sarasvatī. It ran south-eastward by Kiprā and Amarkoṭ, near which it turned southward and flowed past Vaṅga Bazār and Romaka Bazār. The most westerly branch now named the 'Purānī' (the old) must have obviously been taken to be Sindhu. It ran south-south-westwards past Brāhmaṇābād and Nasīrpur to Haidarābād, below which it

187. *Modern Review*, August 1932, 153-54.
188. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XIV, p. 88.
189. Cunningham : *Ancient Geography of India*, map nos. V,VI, & IX.
190. *Ibid* (1924 Edition) pp. 288 to 90.

sub-divided into two. One sub-branch, which must have been called the Sindhu, ran into the present channel of that river 15 miles below Haidarābād. The other, called the Gunī, turned south-eastwards and after throwing out a branch south-westwards to join one of the mouths of the Sindhu itself, joined the Sarasvatī-Nārā above Romaka Bazār. The two intervening streams appear to have separated from the Sarasvatī Nārā just below Jakrāv and rejoined it one about half way between Amarkoṭ and Vaṅga Bazār and the other a little below Romaka Bazār. They do not appear to have lasted very long as their courses are only partially traceable. Below Romaka Bazār the Sarasvatī-Nārā was lost in the Rann of Kaccha (Cutch). After the Indus (which must have by then been joined by the Pañjāb rivers with the exception of the Satluj) changed its course some time before Ālor was captured by the Arabs, the Sarasvatī aided by the Satluj and may be some water from the Indus through its old channel, used to reappear above Ālor and flow in the channel of the Nārā (as noted by the Arabs and named the great Mihrān) and join the Rann.

In his *Mohen jo Daro and the Indus Valley Civilization*[191], Sir John Marshall says: 'Twelve centuries ago when the Arabs first came to Sind there were two great rivers flowing through the land: to the west the Indus, to the east the great Mihrān[192] also known as the Hakrā or Wahindāh. Of these two rivers the eastern one was the more important.... Major Raverty, the foremost authority on the subject, concluded that at the time of the Arab invasion the main channel of the great Mihrān followed a line roughly coincident with the existing eastern Nārā Canal, which was once an important river bed. It passed close by the city of Ālor, thence flowed south for some 90 miles and swept eastwards in a curve which carried it west of Umarkoṭ and so to the Rann of Kaccha (then an estuary of the sea) and by the Kori creek to the Arabian sea[193]. According to him, the terminal course of the Indus which flows by Mohen jo Daro, was then a subsidiary branch of the Mihrān, but its course was not the same as at present. The Mihrān itself, he held, was the chief channel by which the rivers of the Pañjāb (including the Citaṅg, the Ghagghar and the Satluj in the east,

191. Vol. I, pp. 5 & 6.
192. Cousins' *Antiquity of Sind*, page 5; Raverty page 297; *Āīn-i-Akbarī* translation by Blochmann, Jarret, vol. II, p. 327.
193. Raverty, pp. 156-508.

the Biās, the Rāvī, the Canāb, and the Jhelum in the centre and the Indus in the west) found their way into the sea....Throughout the mediaeval period and up to the middle of the fourteenth century there were two large rivers instead of one flowing in parallel courses to the sea and that these two rivers divided between themselves the vast volume of the water from the five rivers of the Pañjāb as well as from the old Ghagghar and Citaṅg to the east....According to Major Raverty, the transfer of the Satluj from the Hakrā to the Biās, the drying up of Hakrā itself and perhaps the breaking away of the Indus from the Mihrān resulted from terrific storm floods, which in the middle of 14th century A. D. overwhelmed the whole country between the Satluj and the Canāb[194]'.

According to Wadia, as quoted by Das[195], the western border of the Rann of Kaccha subsided only in 1819 A. D. This means that the Rann was not directly connected with the sea before that year, but only through the Gulf of Kaccha on the one hand and also the Gulf of Cambay through Nal and the Rann of Cambay on the other till that year[196]. From Mahābhārata-mausala VII & the Purāṇas it seems that the original Dvārakā and the area further inland was submerged in the 36th year after the Bhārata war. The modern Dvāraka is situated in the north-western corner of Saurāṣṭra on the sea coast at the mouth of the Gulf of Kaccha. The submersion of land would have, therefore, taken place in that neighbourhood and it is very likely that the area now occupied by the Gulf and the Rann of Kaccha was solid land about 2000 B. C. according to traditions.

Prabhāsa, mentioned near the mouth of Sarasvatī, is situated on the South-eastern coast of Saurāṣṭra at the mouth of the Gulf of Cambay. The lowest course of the Sarasvatī about 2000 B. C. would, therefore, be along the Ranns of Kaccha and Cambay, Nal and the Gulf of Cambay, the last being in reality the mouth of the Sarasvatī.

These facts prove that the Sarasvatī must have been a very big river at one time even after the Ṛgvedic age and ran through the whole of the modern Ambālā division, Northern Rājasthāna; Bahāvalpur and Sindh of Pakistan, Kaccha area and Saurāṣṭra to join the western sea near Prabhāsa.

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194. Raverty, pp. 391 & 392.
195. *Ṛgvedic India*, 2nd edition, p. 48.
196. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XV, p. 170.

There can, thus, be no doubt that it must have been a mighty river in the Ṛgvedic age when the Sarasvat and the Arvāvat seas existed.

One verse calls it a mighty stream[197]. In another verse it is said to have swept away a ridge of the hills with its mighty waves just as one digs out stems of the Lotus plant[198]. One more verse speaks of its unlimited and unbroken floods moving swiftly with a rapid rush and thundering roar[199]. Yet another verse describes it as filling the Earth and the wide regions of the heavens with its roar[200]; still another verse calls it the mightiest of the mighty streams and the most rapid among the rapid streams[201]. According to one verse, it surpassed all other rivers in greatness[202] while in another it is described as the broadest river[203]. The ṛṣi quoted above[204], speaks of the Sarasvatī, the Sarayu and the Sindhu in the same breath as mighty rivers, which shows that these three were known to be more or less of the same size and the biggest rivers of the country.

As already stated, Sarasvatī is described in a verse[205], as flowing pure from the hills to the sea *i. e.* the Sarasvat sea. Mahābhārata[206] locates its earlier confluence with the sea above Rudra Koṭī and Kumāra Koṭī *i. e.* very probably a little below Oṭu. Mahābhārata[207] also speaks of the Tṛṇabindu lake in that region which must have been a depression left by the Sarasvat sea. When that sea receded, the Sarasvatī, after flooding the Tṛṇabindu lake, ran further west with a little inclination towards north up to Bhaṭner-Hanumāngaḍh and then south-westwards to Dābhlī, being joined by the Ghagghar above Oṭu and the Āpayā in the Tṛṇabindu lake. The existing old bed of the Vār joins the dry bed of the Sarasvatī on the border of Hisār and Bīkāner districts. Before the days of Rāma

197. महो अर्णः I-3-11.
198. इयं शुष्मेभिर्बिसखाइवारुजत्सानु गिरीणां तविषेभिरूर्मिभिः VI-61-2.
199. यस्या अनन्तो अह्रुतस्त्वेषश्चरिष्णुरर्णवः। अमश्चरति रोरुवत्॥ VI-61-8.
200. आपप्रुषी पार्थिवान्युरु रजो अन्तरिक्षम् सरस्वती निदस्पातु॥ VI-61-11.
201. महिम्ना महिनासु and अपसामपस्तमा VI-61-13.
202. विश्वा अपो महिना सिन्धुरन्याः VII-95-1.
203. वृहदु गायिषे VII-96-1.
204. *i. e.* X-64-9. (see footnote 167).
205. *i. e.* VII-95-2. (see footnote 16).
206. Vana parva LXXXII.
207. Vana parva CCLVIII.

Aikṣvāku the Sarasvatī ran almost due west from Dābhlī towards Lakkhāsar, whereabout it was joined by the Dṛṣadvatī in those days. It then ran past Sardārpurā, Ratanpurā and Muklāvā and fell into the northern remnant of the Sarasvat sea, called the Drumakulya sea, the surviving depression of which extends from about two miles west of Muklāvā to the border of Bahāvalpur for about fifteen miles in that region. At a later period, and probably after it began to be joined by the Naīvāl (*i. e.* the Vipaś Śutudrī or Bias-Satluj) also at about six miles above Bhaṭner-Hanumāngaḍh, the Sarasvatī began to flow south-westwards from Dābhlī and being now joined by the Dṛṣadvatī, about five miles west of Baḍopal ran past Sūratgaḍh, Sardārgaḍh, Anūpgaḍh, Vallaḍ-Sardārgaḍh, Phūlrā, Jambhā, Mojgaḍh, Dīngaḍh, Bārā and Derāvār forts, Khairgaḍh, Bhaglā and Khāngaḍh etc., reached Camasodbheda about ten miles north of Ālor and joined the Parāvat sea, which had, by then, receded to that place as remembered in Mahābhārata[208]. The Sindhu (Indus), now joined by the Ārjīkīyā (Hāro) and Suṣomā (Sohān) and may be also by the combined stream of the Vitastā, the Marudvṛdhā, the Asiknī, and the Paruṣṇi (*i.e.* the Jhelum, the Canāb, the Aik and the Rāvī) also joined that sea there, with or without first uniting with the Sarasvatī. When that sea receded further back, the Sarasvatī, joined by the Sindhu and the combined stream of the four Pañjāb rivers (in case that stream did not fall into the Sindhu higher up), ran further south and joined it there till it had receded beyond Romaka Bazār, after which the Sarasvatī turned eastwards along the present Rann of Kaccha and then, passing southwards through the present Rann of Cambay, Nal and the Gulf of Cambay, joined the sea at Prabhāsa as stated in Mahābhārata[209]. During this period it threw out a branch called the Sindhu near Jakrāv, which joined the sea further west.

Still later, first, the Vipāś and then the Śutudrī made radical changes in their upper courses: the former ran more westerly from above Harī-kāpatan and joined the combined stream of the middle four Pañjāb rivers; while the latter ran almost due west from below Rūpaḍ and began to join the Sarasvatī further down in Bahāvalpur area of Pakistān. As a result of the changes in the courses of these rivers and also as a result of progressive

208. Vana parva LXXXVIII.
209. Vana parva LXXXII and Śalya parva XXXV.

decrease of the snow and rainfall over the sources and valleys of the Sarasvatī and its sister rivers due to the disappearance of the Arvāvat and the Sarasvat seas, volume of the Sarasvatī's water gradually decreased and it began to be completely absorbed in the sand of the desert (left by the Sarasvat sea) at Vinaśana site which must have gradually shifted eastwards and was situated about Sūratgaḍh at the time of the last recension of the Mahābhārata, *i. e.* a few centuries before Christ. But the stream continued to flow underground and the Sarasvatī, joined by the Satluj, used to reappear at Camasodbheda and, after uniting with the Sindhu and the rivers of the Pañjāb, reached the western sea at Prabhāsa through the Ranns of Kaccha and Cambay, Nal and the Gulf of Cambay as stated in the Mahābhārata and by the early commentator of Amara.

About the end of the 7th century A. D. the combined stream of the Indus and the Pañjāb rivers changed the course and began to flow further west. But the Sarasvatī, still joined by the Satluj and probably aided by some water flowing through the old channel of the Indus, continued to run as a large river in the Sindh province as found by the Arab conquerors.

At a still later period (probably the 14th century A. D.) the Satluj made a further change in its course and began to unite with the Biās and then the Pañjāb rivers. Probably the Indus also stopped sending any water through its old channel about the same time. As a result of these, and also on account of the further decreased rainfall over its drainage area the Sarasvatī became a very small stream in the Sindh province and finally disappeared altogether, leaving only a dry bed there.

Ultimately due to the alterations made by the engineers of Fīroz Shāh Tughluq and the use of its water in the canals, as well as due to the further decreased rainfall over its sources, the Sarasvatī became the insignificant stream that it is today; so much so that people find it hard to believe that it is the same river that is so frequently mentioned and described as the mighty river in the Ṛgveda. Luckily its old beds and the evidence of the Mahābhārata and other literature are there to satisfy the sceptics, if they will take the trouble to study them.

The Vinaśana means only the place where the Sarasvatī disappeared usually. The river must have flowed much further in the rainy seasons. It is remembered to have been reaching Anūpgaḍh after heavy rains, till it was dammed at Oṭu a few years back. It still flows up to Hanumāngaḍh

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occasionally in the rainy seasons, though it gets completely dry considerably above Oṭu at other times.

At present the old course of the Sarasvatī is divisible into five distinct parts. The lowest is now occupied from below upwards by the Gulf of Cambay, Nal and Ranns of Cambay and Kaccha. The second, *i. e.* the Nārā of Sindh province, has been converted into a canal from the Indus, which passes through the Allāh Band (a broad ridge of ground thrown up by an earthquake in 1819 A. D.) and joins the Gunī, which falls into the Arabian sea through the Rann of Kaccha and Korī Creek. The third part, running through Bahāvalpur and Bīkāner districts and known variously as the Vahindāh, Rainī, Sotrā or Hakḍā, is always dry except in its upper part after very heavy rains. The fourth part, now called Ghagghar after its union with the river of that name at Sāgrā, generally gets flowing during the rainy seasons and may have some water above Sirsā at other times. A few years ago, it used to flood the marshy area round Khaḍyāl (Dhanur lake) in rainy seasons and after very heavy rains the water used to flow further along the old bed and occasionally reach even as far as Anūpgaḍh. A dam has now been constructed at Oṭu and the controlled water supply is distributed by two main canals. The southern canal goes towards Khaḍyāl almost parallel to the old bed of the Āpayā from Koṭlī onwards. The other runs along the right bank of the old bed of the Sarasvatī up to Bīkāner boundary and throws overflowing water into the old bed at the Sarasvatī-Vār confluence. The leakage, as well as any superfluous water from the dam itself, runs into the old bed and often goes up to and even beyond Hanumāngaḍh after heavy floods, but usually gets completely absorbed somewhere between Oṭū and Hanumāngaḍh. The uppermost part, which still retains the name Sarasvatī, is mostly dry except in pools here and there where the water still comes up to the surface. But it flows as a continuous stream during a good part of the rainy seasons. The river usually ends in the Sīvan (Dvaita) and Gahorān (Gandharva) lakes, but after heavy rains joins the Ghagghar at Sāgrā. The real old bed of the Sarasvatī below Makurar (*i. e.* the Sukrū) also gets flooded after heavy rains and, helped by the flood waters of the Ghagghar through the Rangoī Canal, its water reaches up to and beyond Hijrāon.

From verses in a certain hymn[210] and from the fact that it was called

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210. *i. e.* in X-75.

the Sindhu (the river), it is evident that the Indus was known to be the largest river of the country. Nevertheless it is the Sarasvatī which has got one complete hymn[211], sections of five hymns[212] and several single verses[213] in its praise. Besides, it is deified as a Devī of speech, prayers and poetry, as well as one of the three chief household and tribal Devīs and is praised in those capacities in many verses and the Āpri hymns of all the Brāhmaṇa clans. No other river, not even the Sindhu, is treated in this way. In one verse the Sarasvatī is called the inspirer of good songs and inciter of good thought[214]; while in the verse just following it, it is said to generate and illuminate with her light all intelligence[215]. If these verses have any meaning, it is that a good many hymns of the Ṛgveda were composed on the banks of this river. In one verse it is called the best of mothers, the best of rivers and the best of Devīs[216]; while in another verse all generations are said to have their stay in it[217]. In still another verse, it is addressed as the dearest of dear streams[218]; while in a verse after it is prayed not to spurn the ṛṣis and not to let them go away from her fields to places not lovely (like them)[219]. Sentiments like these would be meaningless unless the Sarasvatī valley was the original home of the Ṛgvedic Āryas. At a certain place it is described as the devourer of Paṇi[220]; in the verse following it as the slayer of the Pārāvatas;[221] in the next verse it is prayed to kill the brood of the wily Brisaya who were detractors of (Vedic) Devas[222], and to give land to the Āryas[223], while in

211. *i. e.* VI-61.
212. *i. e.* I-3-10 to 12, II-41-16 to 18, VII-95. all except third which is in praise of the Sarasvat sea, VII-96-1 to 3 and X-17-7 to 10.
213. I-164-49, VI-52-6 VII-36-6, and X-64-9 etc.
214. चोदयित्री सूनृतानां चेतन्ती सुमतीनाम्, I-3-11.
215. प्र चेतयति केतुना धियो विश्वा I-3-12.
216. अम्बितमे नदीतमे देवितमे II-41-16.
217. विश्वा सरस्वति श्रितायूंषि II-41-17.
218. प्रिया प्रियासु VI-61-10.
219. माप स्फरीः पयसा मा न आ धक्। जुषस्व नः सख्या वेश्या च मा त्वत्क्षेत्राण्यरणानि गन्म VI-61-14.
220. आ चखा दावसं पणिं VI-61-1.
221. पारावतघ्नी VI-61-2.
222. देवनिदो निबर्हय प्रजां विश्वस्य वृसयस्य मायिनः VI-61-3.
223. क्षितिभ्योऽवनीरविन्दो VI-61-3.

the two succeeding verses it is called the slayer of the enemy[224]. In another verse it is described as the sure defence like a town or fort of iron[225]. These verses prove that it was the home river and the last refuge of the Ṛgvedic Bharatas in times of difficulty. In still another verse it is said to have spread the people of the ṛṣi all over safe from the enemies and beyond her sisters just as the sun spreads the day[226]. This verse clearly shows that the Ṛgvedic Āryas spread all over from the regions of the Sarasvatī and its sister rivers. At a place Sarasvatī is described as the prosperor of the five tribes[227]. As will be explained elsewhere this expression refers to the five tribes ruled by the descendants of Manu, who were the principal originators and followers of the Ṛgvedic culture and religion *i. e.* the Āryas par excellence in the original sense of the word. The Sarasvatī could not be called their prosperor unless all of them lived in its basin in the earliest known days and were supposed to have originated there.

As already stated, Mānuṣa (named after Manu, the first known regular king of the Āryas whose memory is preserved in the names applied to mankind in the Indo-European languages) and Ilāspada (named after Ilā, the first known ruling queen) of the Āryas are situated on two sides of the Āpayā, a branch of the Sarasvatī and between it and the Dṛṣadvatī. According to the same verse, the Bharatas, the most important branch of the Mānavas, who finally gave their name to the whole of India, ruled in the same region. The other branches of the Mānavas also ruled about the same area. A verse shows that there were several kingdoms in the valley of the Sarasvatī[228]. Pṛthudaka (Pehoā) on the Sarasvatī is traditionally associated with the Pṛthus. The river Ikṣumatī which will be shown to be the Ṛgvedic Vīrapatnī and the modern Sirindhī-Vār, is described as the ancestral[229] river of the Ikṣvākus in the Rāmāyaṇa[230]. In Ṛgveda, the Sarasvatī is said to have given milk and butter to Nahuṣa, *viz* Yayāti, the

224. वृत्रतूर्ये in VI-61 5 & वृत्रघ्नी in VI-61-7.
225. आयसीपूः VII-95-1.
226. विश्वा अति द्विषः स्वसॄरन्या ऋतावरी। अतन्नहेव सूर्यः VI-61-9.
227. पंचजाता वर्धयन्ती VI-61-12.
228. चित्र इन्द्राजा राजका इदन्यके यके सरस्वतीमनु।
पर्जन्यइव ततनद्धि वृष्टया सहस्रमयुता ददत् ।। VIII-21-18.
229. पितृपैतामही ।
230. II-LXVIII-17.

son of Nahuṣa[231]; while in another verse, the Pūrus are said to live on the banks of the Sarasvatī[232]. Nahuṣa was the son of Āyu, the grandson of Purūravas and the great grandson of Ilā. Yayāti had five sons *viz* Yadu, Turvaśa, Anu, Druhyu and Pūru, of whom the first four migrated to other areas while Pūru and his descendants ruled over the ancestral domain. These two verses and one other verse[233] prove that the Ailās also originated from the Sarasvatī valley. The Parśus, descendants of a daughter of Manu, named Parśu, according to another verse[234], probably lived round about Jīnd (Jayantī) on the Dṛṣadvatī. As will be explained in due course, the name Paraśu-(which is the same as the Vedic Parśu) Rāma of Rāma Jāmadagnya-Bhārgava is very probably derived from his association with them and he is traditionally connected with the Rāma-hradas at Rāmrāi (near Jīnd) and the Raupyā Dṛṣadvatī in that region[235].

I hope it is quite clear by now that the Sarasvatī was the most important and one of the largest rivers of Sapta Saindhava and that it was in the valley of this river and its seven sisters that the Ṛgvedic Ārya race, culture and religion originated and developed and then spread to other parts of the country including the valley of the Indus itself.

The facts that there were five streams named the Sarasvatī after this river in the east and one (and there is another further down) in the south of Sapta Saindhava, and that even a river of Arachosia (Greek corruption of the land of Rakṣas) was called the Sarasvatī (the Avestic Haraqhvaiti) after it also prove its unmistakable importance. The theory that the river of Arachosia was the original Sarasvatī of the Ṛgveda, is proved to be absolutely baseless by the mention of the other rivers Manuṣā and Ilāspada of south-eastern Sapta Saindhava in association with it in the verses. Scholars holding that view will have to prove the existence of all these rivers and these two places in the north-west first.

Another noteworthy fact is that the country between the Dṛṣadvatī and the Sarasvatī in their middle valleys has been called Brahmāvarta and

231. घृतं पयो दुदुहे नाहुषाय VII-95-2.
232. अधिक्षियन्ति पूरवः VII-96-2.
233. III-23-4. (see Chapter 1, footnote 87).
234. पर्शुर्ह नाम मानवी X-86-23.
235. *Mahābhārata*, Vana parva LXXXIII & CXXIX etc.

also the northern altar of Brahmā, probably in contrast to Puṣkara, another place associated with Brahmā in its south. This Brahmāvarta is described as the most holy area in the world. The actual place called by that name, which obviously gave its name to the tract, is mentioned after Arantuka in the Mahābhārata[236] and is identified with Bramahdat[237] now called Bedpur (or Umedpur) on the southern bank of the Sarasvatī 7 miles north of Mānuṣa. Brahmā represents the creative energy of the Almighty in the Hindu Pantheon. Brahmāvarta would have, therefore, got this name because it was supposed to be the earliest site of creation *i. e.* the earliest known home of the Vedic Ārya people and culture.

All these facts support the idea that the Sarasvatī valley was the original home of the Ṛgvedic Āryas. That is obviously also the reason why the eastern (Pūrva) sea was called the Arvāvat (this or near) and the western (Para) the Parāvat (that or far) sea.

The Hariyūpīyā and The Yavyāvatī. Scholars have doubted whether the Hariyūpīyā and the Yavyāvatī mentioned in the Ṛgveda[238] were names of rivers or towns. But it is quite reasonable to presume that they were the names of two rivers; firstly because both are mentioned in the feminine gender in which rivers are usually mentioned, and secondly, so far as I know, towns, with the exception of Mānuṣa and Ilāspada, are not mentioned in the Ṛgveda by name while rivers are. In the verses referred to, Indra is said to have destroyed the Vṛchīvats on (the banks of) these two rivers[239]. The next verse shows that the conqueror was in reality a king called Daivavāta[240]. Daivavāta is obviously a patronymic *i. e.* a son or descendant of Devavāta. Scholars like Wilson, Griffith and others have explained it to refer to Abhyāvartin Cāyamāna, for whom Indra is said to have killed Śeṣa of the Varśikhas in the 4th as well as the 1st hemistich of the 5th verses[241]. But this explanation is quite unjustified, because

236. *Mahābhārata*, Vana parva-LXXXIII.
237. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XIV, p 99.
238. VI—27-5 and 6 (see footnote 239).
239. वृचीवतो यद्धरियूपीयायां हन्पूर्वे अर्धे भियसापरो दर्त् VI-27-5 ।
त्रिंशच्छतं वर्मिण इन्द्र साकं यव्यावत्यां पुरुहूत श्रवस्या ।
वृचीवन्तः शरवे पत्यमानाः पात्राभिन्दाना न्यर्थान्यायन् ।।VI-27-6।।
240. वृचीवतो दैववाताय शिक्षन् VI-27-7.
241. एतत्त्यत्त इन्द्रियमचेति येनावधीर्वरशिखस्य शेषः ब्रजस्य यत्ते निहतस्य VI-27-4.
वरशिखस्य शेषोऽभ्यावर्तिने चायमानाय शिक्षन् VI-27-5.

Abhyāvartin is described as Cāyamāna *i. e.* the son of Cāyamāna and is further said to be a descendant of Pṛthu in the 8th verse[242]. The patronymic Daivavāta could not, therefore, refer to him. On the other hand, the 2nd hemistich of the 7th verse mentions Sṛñjaya with Daivavāta, for whom Indra is said to have conquered the Turvaśas[243]. This Sṛñjaya is also mentioned in a verse[244] where he is described as a Daivavāta. The patronymic Daivavāta in a verse[245] must, therefore, refer to Sṛñjaya mentioned in the same verse and not to Abhyāvartin. Griffith and other scholars have described the Sṛñjayas as 'a people in the west of India'. But in the verse referred to above Agni is said to have been kindled in the east[246], for Sṛñjaya Daivavāta. He must, therefore, be a king of some eastern part of Sapta Saindhava. Devavāta and (his father) Devaśravas are called the two Bhāratas[247]. Sṛñjaya Daivavāta must have, therefore, been a king of the Bharatas, and very likely the successor of Devavāta. According to a verse[248], Devavāta Bhārata ruled over the district of Mānuṣa in the valleys of the Dṛṣadvatī, the Āpayā and the Sarasvatī, presumably in their middle courses, with Ilāspada as their centre. It is, therefore, not improper to presume that in the early days of Sṛñjaya's reign the domain of the Bharatas did not extend much beyond the Sarasvatī valley towards north. In another verse[249], Indra is said to have subjugated the Turvaśas to Sṛñjaya Daivavāta, apparently after the defeat of the Vṛchīvats. As will be explained elsewhere, in the days of Sudās Tṛtsu, a successor of Sṛñjaya after some generations, the Turvaśas lived in the north of the Śutudrī. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, they may be presumed to be living somewhere in the north of the Sarasvatī in the days of Sṛñjaya as well. The

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242. अभ्यावर्ती चायमानो ददाति दूणाशेयं दक्षिणा पार्थवानाम् VI-27-8.
243. सृञ्जयाय तुर्वशं परादाद VI-27-7.
244. सृञ्जये पुरो दैववाते समिध्यते IV-15-4.
245. VI-27-7 (see footnote 249).
246. पुरो ।
247. अमन्थिष्टां भारता रेवदग्निं देवश्रवा देववातः सुदक्षम् ।
अग्ने वि पश्य बृहताभि रायेषां नो नेता भवतादनु द्यून् ।। III-23-2
248. III-23-4 (See Chapter I, footnote 87).
249. यस्य गावावरुषा सूयवस्यू अन्तरू षु चरतो रेरिहाणा ।
स सृञ्जयाय तुर्वशं परदाद् वृचीवतो दैववाताय शिक्षन् ।। VI-27-7

Harīyūpīyā and Yavyāvatī, on whose banks Sṛñjaya Daivavāta annihilated the Vṛchīvats before conquering the Turvaśas, would, therefore, probably be the two big rivers situated in the north of the Sarasvatī. They would, thus, in all likelihood, be the Mārkaṇḍā and the Ḍ (Ṭ) āṅghrī, also known as the Umlā.

As already stated, the Harīyūpīyā Markaṇḍā now joins the Sarasvatī by several mouths from about one mile east of Murtazāpur to within four miles west of Pehoā. But there are fragments of its old bed situated further north-west to prove that it joined that river between Behārjacca and Sāgrā in earlier days.

As also mentioned previously, the Yavyāvatī-Ḍāṅghrī (Umlā) now joins the Ghagghar at Tatiānā; but the evidence of its old bed, which runs further south-east from above Tatiānā, shows that it joined that river below Parthā in earlier days. Besides, there is the old bed of the Ghagghar, running further west to show that the channel below this confluence really belongs to the Ḍāṅghrī, which may, therefore, be described as joining the Sarasvatī below Sāgrā in old days.

The location of these two rivers towards west outside Sapta Saindhava by Hillibrandt and Das[250] is, thus, absolutely unwarranted.

The Sarayū. The next river, now generally called the Ghagghar, but also known as Sarayū locally, is the biggest stream of the group at present. It must have been a big river in the Ṛgvedic period as well. Ghagghar is the vulgar form of Ghargharā, which is also the Saṁskṛta of Ghāghrā, the more common name of the Sarayū of Avadh, while Saryū is an obvious corruption of Sarayū. A river, named the Sarayū, is mentioned in three verses of the Ṛgveda. In one verse[251], it is mentioned by itself but in another[252], it is mentioned in the second hemistich after a mention of the Rasā, the Anitabhā, the Kubhā, the Krumu and the Sindhu. The order of description is, thus, from north to south and then west to east. The Sarayū will, therefore, be situated in the east or south-east of the Sindhu. In another verse[253], already referred to, the Sarayū is mentioned between the Sarasvatī and the Sindhu

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250. *Ṛgvedic Culture*, pp. 156 & 162.
251. उत त्या सद्य आर्या सरयोरिन्द्र पारतः । अर्णाचित्ररथावधीः । IV-30-18.
252. V-53-9 (see footnote 35).
253. X-64-9 (see footnote 167).

and all three are described as big rivers. It would, therefore, be a big river to the north-west of the Sarasvatī and between it and the Sindhu. In the tenth verse of the same hymn, the ṛṣi mentions the Bṛhaddivā, already identified with the broad stream between the Rāksī and the eastern Sarasvatī. The Sarayū is, therefore, more likely to be nearer to the Sarasvatī than the Sindhu. It is, therefore, very probably the present Sarayū or Ghagghar and not the Harayu (Harirūd) of Afghānistān or Sarayū (or Ghāghrā) of Avadh, as opined by some scholars. Both the latter rivers are more likely to have got that name given by the emigrants from the valley of the Sarayū-Ghagghar in memory of the earlier home river.

As stated elsewhwere, the Sarayū-Ghagghar now joins the Sarasvatī below Sāgrā through the channel of the Ḍāṅghrī. But the evidence of its old bed shows that the two rivers ran separately for a much longer distance in earlier days. The same kind of evidence also proves that it ran further west even in its upper course in early days. Its oldest traceable course below Mubārakpur, after its emergence from the hills, appears to have run past Dharmagaḍh, Ghanaur, Balamgaḍh, Armaulī, Tatiānā, Bādshāhpur, Sadhāranpur, Śatrāṅg and Akālgaḍh, about three miles above which it began to join the Sarasvatī at a later period. But in earlier days it ran separately past Jākhal, Ratiā, Kalothā, Hiṅgnā, Shārdūlgaḍh, Paṇihārī and Khairekā, towards Oṭū, a little above which it joined the Sarasvatī. It might have joined that river about the same place or a bit further up in the Ṛgvedic age.

The Śiphā, The Añjasī, The Kuliśī and The Vīrapatnī. The next two comparatively large streams of the Sarasvatī group are now known as the Paṭiālī and the Sirindhī (Sirhind Coā of maps); while two smaller streams known as the Sukhnā and the Tagaurī (Taṅgaurī) are situated between the Ghagghar and the Paṭiālī. The ṛṣi Kutsa, who was a king of the Ikṣvākus before he became a priest and was adopted in the Āṅgiras clan, mentions four rivers *viz.* the Śiphā, the Añjasī, the Kuliśī and the Vīrapatnī in that order[254]. In the first of these two verses he prays that the two wives of Kuyava, his enemy, may be drowned in the Śiphā[255], while in the next verse the other three rivers are said to bestow favours on

254. I-104-3 & 4. (see footnotes. 255 and 256).

255. कुयवस्य योषे हते ते स्यातां प्रवणे शिफायाः ।। I-104-3.

Kutsa himself[256]. Obviously Kuyava lived on the banks of Śiphā, while the Ikṣvākus under Kutsa flourished in the valleys of the other three rivers.

The modern name Sukhnā is an obvious corruption of Śuṣṇā[257], *i. e.* the river of Śuṣṇa, who is frequently mentioned in the Ṛgveda and associated with Kuyava in several verses[258]. It would thus appear that the tribes ruled by Kuyava and Śuṣṇa lived in the valley of the river Śiphā, thus giving it also the name Śuṣṇa, which has managed to stick to it in the corrupt form Sukhnā, up to the present. In two verses which describe the battle against Śuṣṇa, Indra (*i. e.* Kutsa, the protege of Indra) is said to have waxed mighty in navigable streams[259]. In another verse, Indra is prayed to take Kutsa, the death of Śuṣṇā, to the latter with the horses of wind *i. e.* boats propelled by sails filled with wind[260]. It would thus appear that the Śiphā-Śuṣṇā, the Añjasī, the Kuliśī and the Vīrapatnī were navigable *i. e*, fairly large rivers, in which boats propelled by sails could be plied and invading armies could be taken in fleets of sailing boats. It need not be emphasised that the 'horses of wind[261]' used in navigable streams[262], can only mean masts of boats, to which sails filled with wind were attached.

The next stream mentioned as Añjasī in the verse and known as Tagaurī or Taṅgaurī (Taugrī in Saṁskṛta) at present may have derived its later name from Tugra, whom Kutsa conquered[263].

The name Paṭiālī of the next stream, *viz.* the Kuliśī of the verse, is a recent one *i. e.* after the establishment of the Paṭiālā state. Its mediaeval name is not traceable.

The identity of the Vīrapatnī with the Sirindhī willl be discussed later on.

The Śiphā-Sukhnā, after emerging from the hills, runs past Kaimbvālā and Biśangaḍh and joins the Ghagghar near Bhānkarpur. But the

256. अंजसी कुलिशी वीरपत्नी पयो हिन्वाना उदभिर्भरन्ते ।। I-104-4.
257. The letter ष being as frequently pronounced as kha.
258. *e. g.* II-19-6, IV-16-12 & VI-31-3 etc.
259. अस्यावर्धत मध्य आ नाव्यानाम् I-33-11 and वि-शृङ्गिणमभिनच्छुष्णमिन्द्रः । I-33-12.
260. वह शुष्णाय वधं कुत्सं वातस्याश्वै I-175-4.
261. वातस्याश्वैः ।
262. नाव्यानाम् ।
263. तुग्रं कुत्साय स्मदिभं च रन्धयम् X-49-4.

presence of its old bed close by shows that in earlier days it ran further west past Bhabāt and Banūr, three miles below which it joined the Taṅgaurī at one time; while in still earlier days it ran from Banūr to Thūhā and then past Suhron, Narsū and Daun and joined the Paṭiālī three miles further down. Older maps show it as going further south in the east of Sanaur and disappearing two miles south-east of that place. It might have then joined the Ghagghar or the Paṭiālī further south. It was thus a comparatively longer river in earlier days.

The Añjasī-Tagaurī runs past Kailar, Kuñjheḍī, Maulī, Manaulī, Motā and Jansiā, near which it breaks into several branches, which run in the north-west of Rājpurā, but after heavy rains reunite further down near Kaulī and join the Paṭiālī near Jorā Rasūlpur.

The Kuliśī-Paṭiālī runs past Nādā, Dhanās, Daun, Lāndrān, Poālā, Pañjolā, Kālvā, Paṭiālā, Dhūdhar, Tarāīn and Dhanaurī and joins the Ghagghar one mile north-east of Maroḍī. But the evidence of its old bed shows that it ran further west from above Pañjolā via Lataur, Bakhśīvālī, Jahlān, Tarāvaḍā, Lalaucī, Kāhangaḍh, Sahejpur, Sihāl, Dhūhar, Dogal and Mariāv, near which this course now ends in an elongated and tortuous lake, but used to join the Ghagghar about one mile and a half south-west of Khāṅg. This bed is now known as the Jhambovālī Coī.

It may be added that owing to the present very much attenuated condition of the last two rivers their courses are not well defined in the middle parts; that of the Tagaurī about Rājpurā and of the Paṭiālī about Poālā. In recent days the Paṭiālī has turned more westwards from Lāndrān and runs past Thañjerī, Majāt Badālī and Balāhrī and disappears a little below the last place. But the old bed restarts near Maclī Baḍī about three miles above Poālā and runs as described above.

The last river of the group is now known as the Jayantā devī kī nadī in its upper course and Sirindhī or Sirhind Coā lower down. It runs past Mājriān, Tīrā, Kharaḍ, Baḍāgāon, Kalaur, Sirhind (Sirindha), Bhādsoṇ, Bāzīdpur, Cintāṇvālā etc. and is lost near Dharmagaḍh a few miles south-west of Sunām in Paṭiālā territory. But a continuation of it in the same direction would lead to a bed which is shown as starting about two miles north-west of Roḍī in Hisār district in older maps and about six miles further down in modern ones. It runs past Jhorar, the two Guḍhās, Sāhūvālā, Jodhpur and Khārīyān, below which it splits into three

channels which reunite above Dhūdhīvālī. It then goes past Sidhārpur, Māthūvālā and Banī and joins the dry bed of the Ghagghar-Sarasvatī (Hakḍā) two miles and a half further down. This bed is now known as the old bed of the Vār (War of maps) river. It is locally known as the Bhakhḍā as well. There is now no trace of the bed left between Dharmagaḍh and Roḍī for about 36 miles. It may have been mostly occupied by a distributary of the Ghagghar branch of the Satluj canal that runs in that area now.

This Sirindhī-Vār appears to be the Ikṣumatī mentioned in the Mahābhārata[264] and the Rāmāyaṇa[265].

In the former it is described as a river near Kurukṣetra, where Takṣaka (*i.e.* the king of the Takṣakas) is said to have been living before his defeat by Janamejaya (III), the grandson of Abhimanyu. The Takṣakas presumably lived in the northern Pañjāb with their capital at Takṣaśilā, but appear to have advanced south-eastwards after the Bhārata war and invading the Kurus had killed their king Parikṣit (II), the father of Janamejaya (III). It must have been about this time that they had their headquarters on the Ikṣumatī probably at or about Sunām near the north-western corner of Kurukṣetra. Afterwards Janamejaya pushed them back and conquered Takṣaśilā itself with a great slaughter of the Takṣaka Nāgas. Both these wars are described in fabulous forms in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas.

In the Rāmāyaṇa it is described as the ancestral river[266] of the Ikṣvākus. The name Ikṣumatī itself is derived from that dynasty, also known as the Ikṣakas. The envoys from Ayodhyā are said to have reached it after crossing the Śaradaṇḍā, very likely the modern Sadādenī and the western Sarasvatī of the earlier days[267] and entered the domain of the unorthodox Vāhikas (*i. e.* the south-eastern parts of the Pañjāb of India) after crossing it[268]. The Sirindhī river has been traditionally recognised as the boundary between the Pañjāb and the old Kuru kingdom and the fort

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264. Ādi parva—III.
265. II-LXVIII-17.
266. *i.e.* पितृ पैतामही ।
267. *Ramāyaṇa* II-LXVIII-15.
268. *Ibid*, 18.

of Sirindha (Sirhind) as the first outpost of Madhyadeśa and the kingdom of Delhi towards north-west up to the time of the rise of the Sikhs. The Sirindhī-Vār river would, therefore, be the Ikṣumatī of the two Epics. As it is described as the ancestral river of the Ikṣvākus in the Rāmāyaṇa itself, which means that it was their homeland river before they migrated to Avadh, and as Kutsa Ārjuneya, a king of this dynasty, is associated with the Vīrapatnī and its two eastern sisters in a hymn composed by himself, the modern Sirindhī-Vāra (*i. e.* the Ikṣumatī of the Epics) must be the Vīrapatnī of the Ṛgveda.

The Vīrapatnī is also associated with the Sarasvatī[269]. The use of the verbs and adjectives in singular number in this verse does not indicate, as suggested by Griffith and others, that Vīrapatnī was an epithet (meaning the Hero's consort) of the Sarasvatī. Some verses, already referred to above[270], show it to be a separate river flowing in the west of the Śiphā, the Añjasī and the Kuliśī. The former verse, in which the Sarasvatī and the Vīrapatnī are addressed together as a single stream, only shows that they united together before falling into the Sarasvat sea. As will be explained elsewhere, the united stream of the Vipāś-Śutudrī is also treated in the same way[271]. Very probably the Vīrapatnī joined the Sarasvatī somewhere about Kelanpur a few miles above Oṭū in Ṛgvedic days, but afterwards ran further west and joined it three miles below Banī as indicated by its old bed.

The Seven Sisters of the Sarasvatī. There were, thus, seven fairly big rivers in the Sarasvatī basin which ran fairly long courses *viz.* the Dṛṣadvatī, the Āpayā, the Harīyūpīyā, the Yavyāvatī, the Sarayū, the Kuliśī and the Vīrapatnī. Of these, the first two joined the Sarasvat sea directly, the Kuliśī joined the Sarayū and the rest the Sarasvatī. The Sarasvatī may, therefore, be described as seven sistered[272] as is done in one verse and the same idea is implied in another verse which speaks of the Sarasvatī and seven rivers[273].

269. पावीरवी कन्या चित्रायु: सरस्वती वीरपत्नी धियं धात् । VI-49-7.
270. I-104-3 & 4 (see footnotes 255 and 256).
271. *e. g.* in III-53-9 and 33-5 etc.
272. सप्तस्वसा VI-61-10.
273. सरस्वत्यवन्तु सप्त सिन्धव: VIII-54-4.

Section IV

The Fourth Group

The Śutudrī, the Vipāś and the Paruṣṇī. The fourth group consisted of the Śutudrī and its tributaries of those days *viz.* the Vipāś and the Paruṣṇī. The former two are praised together in a section,[274] because they were supposed to have checked their course and allowed the army of the Bharatas to cross them safely on Viśvāmitra's prayers. In the second verse they are said to be flowing together, each of them seeking the other[275]; while in the third they are described as flowing to their common home together[276]. They are mentioned as one river in still another verse[277] and addressed in the singular number in yet another[278]. There is one verse which shows them to be one river as it makes them say "I shall bend myself low like a nursing mother and yield myself like a maiden to her husband"[279]. Again, at another place, where the same event is alluded to, Viśvāmitra is said to have stopped the floods of a river.[280] It is, thus, quite clear that these two rivers used to unite before joining the sea as stated once[281]. As already explained, yet another verse[282] shows the Śutudrī as an independent river, it being mentioned in the vocative case, with the Paruṣṇī mentioned in the instrumental case as its tributary.

There is not the slightest doubt about the identity of these rivers with the modern Satluj, Biās and Rāvī, though no one appears to have realised that the Rāvī was once a tributary of the Satluj.

It has been generally accepted that the Satluj was a tributary of the Sarasvatī in post-Ṛgvedic ages till a few hundred years back. But it has been stated that in the times of Arrian it had an independent outlet in the Rann of Kaccha[283]. So far as I could trace there is no evidence either in

274. III-33.
275. समाराणे ऊर्मिभिः पिन्वमाने अन्या वामन्यामप्येति III-33-2.
276. संरिहाणे समानं योनिमनुसंचरन्ती III-33-3.
277. सिन्धुमच्छा III-33-5.
278. त्वा III-33-11.
279. नि ते नंसै पीप्यानेव योषा मर्यायेव कन्या शश्वचै ते, III-33-10.
280. अस्तभ्नात्सिन्धुमर्णवं III-53-9.
281. अच्छा समुद्रं रथ्येय याथः III-33-2.
282. *i. e.* X-75-5. (see footnote 9).
283. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XXIII, p. 179 & *Vedic Index* vol. p. 385.

the Indian literature or in the old bed or beds to confirm it. All available evidence shows that there were only two main rivers flowing through the Sindh province in ancient days, *viz.* the Sindhu in the west and the Sarasvatī-Great Mihrān-Nārā in the east. The Satluj must have, therefore, sent its water to the Rann through the Sarasvatī. According to the Gazetteer, the Satluj was a tributary of the Hakḍā and flowed in the Eastern Nārā in 1000 A. D. It adds that the old bed between Ṭohānā and Rūpaḍ is not traceable but it is known that the river ran a southerly course from the latter place in old days. By 1245 A. D. the Satluj had taken a more northerly course, but again returned to the Ghagghar (in reality the Sarasvatī). About 1593 A. D. it again left the Ghagghar and went north. Biās came south to meet it and the two ran under names of the Macchuvālī, Hariānī, Ḍaṇḍ, Nūrnī, Nīlī and Ghārāh. Then the Satluj once more returned to its old course and rejoined the Ghagghar. It was in 1796 that the Satluj again left the Ghagghar and joined the Biās finally[284].

As stated in connection with the Sarasvatī, the Satluj joined it at or above Camasodbheda at one time in post-Ṛgvedic ages. There are many *nālās* connecting even the modern channel of the Satluj below Bahāvalpur and the dry bed of the Sarasvatī from Ḍerāvār fort downwards, indicating that the confluence took place at different points between Ḍerāvār and Camasodbheda at different periods. Most probably it used to take place at Ḍerāvār in earlier days and then gradually shifted downwards. It is, therefore, very likely that the Satluj joined the Sarasvatī to form the Great Mihrān (Nārā) even in the days of Arrian and that Cunningham is wrong in showing the former as joining the other five rivers of the Pañjāb near Uccā[285].

But the area between Derāvār fort and the ruins of Ālor is not the only one where the Satluj could have joined the Sarasvatī. There are at present three separate old beds, with four or five transitional courses between them, traceable between the dry bed of the Vīrapatnī-Sarasvatī and the present channel of the Biās-Satluj. All of them run from north-east to south-west and cannot but be the remains of the old lower courses of the Vipāś-Śutudrī. Each of them starts with a forked head, having two arms

284. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XXIII, p. 179.
285. Cunningham: *Ancient Geography of India*, map no. V & VI.

to represent the two rivers; while the north-westernmost in the Fāzilkā tehsīl of the Fīrozpur district has a third arm representing the lower part of the ancient channel of the Paruṣṇī as well.

The third arm of the north-westernmost bed starts near Satkosī (Dināvālā) and running for about five miles south-south-westwards joins the combined bed of the other two in the west of Bānvālā-Sādhū (Dīvān-Kheḍā). The fact that it is the third and the westernmost arm of this bed proves that it probably belonged to a river in the north-west of the Vipāś and, therefore, to the Paruṣṇī *i.e.* the modern Rāvī, which is the next river in that direction.

The second or the Vipāś arm starts further east about three miles north of Ālamgaḍh, near Abohar, and running almost due south joins the Śutudrī arm at that place.

The Śutudrī arm is traceable for a longer distance. It starts near Bhagvānpur about one mile and a half west of Malaut and runs west-south-west for about 32 miles past Abohar and Ālamgaḍh (near which it is joined by the Vipāś arm) to Dīvān Kheḍā, where it unites with the Paruṣṇī arm. The united bed then runs south-west for about another 15 miles past Rāmnagar in Bīkāner district three miles below which it is joined by the second old course of the Vipāś-Śutudrī. It is remarkable that the bed becomes distinctly broader after this confluence also, probably indicating that the older course was still occupied by the Paruṣṇī while the Vipāś-Śutudrī had shifted far away in the south-east and joined it there.

The spreading out of the bed below Usmān kheḍā may be due to the fact that the Paruṣṇī-Vipāś-Śutudrī, joined the Sarasvat sea at that place in the earliest days. But when the sea receded, it flowed further south-west past Rāmnagar as mentioned above.

This course was called the old bed of the Naīvāl river in older maps, but is not given any name in the later ones.

The second bed starts in the north-east of Ḍabvālī in Hisār district. The Vipāś arm, narrower and comparatively longer, starts in the neighbouring territory of Paṭiālā and runs for about one mile and a half southwards with a slight inclination towards east. The Śutudrī arm, shorter but broader, begins at Jogīvālā and running south-west for about 3/8th of a mile, takes a sharp turn towards north-north-west and is joined by the Vipāś arm about ¾ mile further on. The united bed then runs west-

south-westwards for about 40 miles up to Buglāvālī, then turning west-north-west along Mānīvālī passess about two miles in the north of Lālgaḍh (12 miles from Buglāvālī) and, then, running almost due west for about another 13 miles, joins the first bed three miles below Rāmnagar. As already mentioned, the Paruṣṇī was very probably still running in the older course, when the Vipāś and the Śutudrī had made a great change in their courses, the shortest distance between the two heads of the Vipāś being about 40 miles and those of the Śutudrī about 26 miles. This course is still called the 'old bed' of the Nāīvāl in Hisār district and 'dry bed' of the same river in the Bīkāner district of Rājasthāna.

The united bed of both these courses runs south-westwards to Kadrūḍhānī, about 17 miles from the confluence, then turns almost due west and, running for about another seven miles and passing Berā two miles in the north, ends in the shallow depression left by the Drumakulya sea, which stretches from there up to the border of the Bahāvalpur state towards south-west for about 18 miles.

The Vipāś arm of the third main course starts $\frac{3}{4}$ miles east of Lakhvānā and runs a tortuous course first towards west and then south-east for about six miles before joining the Śutudrī arm. The latter starts in the west of Khokhar about nine miles south-east of Ḍabvālī and runs west-south-west for about 13 miles before being joined by the Vipāś arm about two miles north of Mohammadpur-Lambā. The united bed then runs in the same direction towards Cautālā. It seems that at one time it ran due west from somewhere below Gaṅgākheḍā and, passing Cautālā in the north, joined the second old course at the smaller Morjhaṇḍā (635). The distance between the two confluences is about 23 miles. This course is still traceable from Morjhaṇḍā to about a mile and a half east of Cautālā railway station, but has disappeared further up.

At a later period the river seems to have made a further change in its course below Cautālā and run south-west to Ratanpurā. It then turned westwards and passed Dhāolīpāl and Hirnūvālā, about six miles beyond which it turned north-west and arrived near the bigger Morjhaṇḍā (606). In the earlier days it appears to have run further in the same direction, passing Morjhaṇḍā in the north-east, and joined the second old course beyond Lālgaḍh. But at a later period it began to take a sharp turn towards south-west above Morjhaṇḍā and ran between it and Mamar

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kheḍā towards Gaṇeśgaḍh. It then passed between Biñjbailā and Berā and joined the Drumakulya sea in the west of the former place. There are three remnants of this course still traceable *viz.* in the south of Ratanpurā for about 2½ miles, then from 2½ miles west of Dhāolīpāl to about one mile north-west of Mamarkheḍā on the one side and for about six miles south-west of the same place on the other and finally from about 3 miles east-north-east of Berā onwards. The length of the course between the confluence of the Vipāś and the Śutudrī arms and the union with the second old course near Lālgaḍh is about 48 miles, while that of the latter course from the same point to the depression near Berā is about 75 miles.

Still later the Vipāś-Śutudrī made a further change in their course about Gaṅgākheḍā and, running past Cautālā in the south-east, joined the Sarasvatī about six miles north-east of Bhaṭner-Hanumāngaḍh. The distance between the two confluences is 26 miles. This course is known as the 'dry bed of Naīvāl', apparently meaning that it was known to be the latest course of the river before it disappeared from this area.

Another old bed, which is traceable only in fragments, is shown further south-east in old maps, but is not marked in modern ones. It appears to come from north and starts at Tevnā Pujāriān in Paṭiālā territory. It runs south-south-west past Jogīvālā and Keval and then turning in a more westerly direction, is lost near Taruvānā. It is again traceable for about one mile north-west of Gudrānā. A continuation of it in the same direction leads to a stump, pointing in its direction, of the third old bed about one mile north of Sālīvālī and below which the united bed becomes markedly broader. It has not got any other arm joining it. It, therefore, appears to be an old bed of the Śutudrī only, which joined the Vipāś near Sālīvālī. Probably it did not last long and is not given any name in the maps.

It may be added that the Satluj is still remembered to have run close to the old fort of Bhaṭiṇḍā. Apparently it could have done so only when it ran through either the second or the third of the above described old beds.

We thus find the first two main courses and the transitional ones between the second and the third of the united rivers ending in the depression left by the Drumakulya sea, which in its turn was a remnant of the Sarasvat sea of the Ṛgveda; while the final bed of the third ends in the Sarasvatī. The first course, which has three arms representing three rivers, which could not possibly be any other but the Paruṣṇī, the Vipāś

and the Śutudrī, has been known to be the oldest course, the second the latter and the third the last. Thus the evidence of the Ṛgveda is corroborated by that of these old beds and there are no cogent reasons to doubt the accuracy of and to misinterpret the verse.

One may, therefore, unhesitatingly state that in the Ṛgvedic age the Paruṣṇī (the Rāvī), and the Vipāś (the Biās) were tributaries of Śutudrī (the Satluj), which was then an independent river and joined the Sarasvat sea very probably a few miles above the site of Rāmnagar in the earliest days and lower down when that sea had receded south-westwards. Later on, probably towards the close of the Ṛgvedic age, the Vipāś and the Śutudrī made radical changes in their middle courses and, running more south-easterly, joined the Paruṣṇī below Rāmnagar and the receded Sarasvat sea further down. When that sea disappeared, leaving the three remnants described elsewhere, they joined the northern one, *viz.* the Drumakulya sea, about Berā. The Vipāś-Śutudrī, then, passed through the transitional stages between the second and the third courses, while the Paruṣṇī made a radical change in its course from above Lāhore and, running in a much more westerly direction, began to join the mid-Pañjāb rivers somewhere below Multān. Cunningham has shown it as doing so in maps[286] and has also stated[287] that the Rāvī was flowing past Multān from the second to the seventh century A. D. It maintained that course up to the days of Tīmūr, after which it shifted its lower course northwards and occupied what was really the lower channel of the Aik. The Vipāś-Śutudrī, on the other hand, moved further south-east and began to join tbe Sarasvatī six miles above Bhaṭner Hanumāngaḍh. The latter river also probably stopped joining the Drumakulya sea near Muklāvā about the same time and, running a more southerly course, joined the receded Parāvat sea at Camasodbheda. It must have been some time after this that the Drumakulya sea got dried in the days of Rāma Aikṣvāku.

The first of the above described dry beds being the oldest traceable, it seems very probable that the Vipāś-Śutudrī ran in it in the days of Sudās Tṛtsu. Its two arms unite near Ālamgaḍh four miles below Abohar. The sites of the confluences of rivers, however, shift from time to time and there is no doubt that the site at Ālamgaḍh was only the last before the

286. Cunningham: *Ancient Geography of India* : map nos. V & VI
287. *Ibid* p. 271.

rivers moved further south-east. But, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it may be presumed that the army of Sudās Tṛtsu crossed these rivers somewhere about Abohar and the famous battle with the Ten Kings took place in the Fāzilka tehsīl.

At a later period the Vipāś made an extraordinarily radical change in its middle course and going further west in an altogether new channel from above Harikāpatan and along Kasūr and Cūniān etc. joined the other Pañjāb rivers near Shujāābād about half way between Multān and Ucca. According to the chronicles of the Sindh province, the Biās flowed in an independent channel in the 7th century A. D.[288]. It held to that course till the end of the eighteenth century A. D.. Still later it again began to move southwards till it began to join the Satluj near Fīrozpur. Its several separate beds between the northernmost and the present channel of the Biās-Satluj are still well-marked and get inundated with its flood waters after heavy rains.

The Śutudrī too made a markedly violent change in its course below Rūpaḍ. Instead of flowing south-west it ran almost due west up to south of Fīrozpur and then south-westwards and joined the Sarasvatī near Ḍerāvār fort. This course is traceable in fragments from Rūpaḍ past Ludhiānā to Fīrozpur, then up to a few miles above Guru Harsahāi, then from the boundary of Muktasar and Fāzilkā tehsīl, with a break near Siṅghpurā, to just below the boundary of Fāzilkā and Bahāvalgaḍh tahsīls and then, though less distinctly, throughout up to near Bahāvalpur, below which it is marked as a *nālā* up to Ḍerāvār. Gradually the Satluj shifted north-westwards from below Fīrozpur, leaving bits of its beds here and there, the southernmost starting near Jaṇḍvālā Khartā about three miles south of Fāzilkā and disappearing after a course of eight miles south-westwards. Its confluence with the Sarasvatī also shifted westwards, till it came to be situated near Camasodbheda as indicated in the Mahābhārata[289], where the Sarasvatī is said to reappear at that place and be joined by other sacred rivers running towards the sea. It is not quite clear where the writer in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* imagined the Satluj to have joined the Nārā-Hakḍā-Ghagghar during the periods stated by him. His mention of the absence of an old bed between Rūpaḍ and Ṭohānā might

288. Cunningham : *Ancient Geography of India* p. 271.
289. Vana parva CXXX.

mean that he took the latter place as the site of the confluence, as he speaks of the Hakḍā being traceable up to there. I do not mean to say that the Satluj never returned to the third old course described above during the last few thousand years. Quite probably it did so, as it is still remembered to have flown past the fort of Bhaṭiṇḍā. But the mention of Vinaśana (the site of the absorption of the Sarasvatī in the desert) in the later Vedic literature, Mahābhārata and Mānava Dharma Śāstra proves that very likely the Satluj had shifted north-westwards as explained above, as otherwise it is hard to believe that the combined waters of the Sarasvatī and Satluj groups of rivers could have been absorbed near about Sardārgaḍh in Bīkāner territory in the days when Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa was composed. It may, however, be that what Arrian really meant by the Satluj having an independent outlet in the Rann of Kaccha was that it flew in the channel of the Sarasvatī from Camasodbheda onwards in his days and that the Satluj underwent the changes mentioned in the Gazetteer in the last thousand years and finally took up its present course at the end of the eighteenth century.

The Śutudrī thus moved in old days first about 26 miles south-east, then about another eight miles and again about ten miles more in the same direction and finally about 75 miles north-west in a line passing through Ḍabvālī. These changes must have been caused by marked alterations in the configuration of the land in its upper valleys. But scholars, who either misinterpret Indian traditions or doubt their accuracy simply because they upset their theories about Ārya migration into India from somewhere outside in comparatively recent days, have, so far as I know, paid no attention to these physical facts and did not explain them in a rational manner.

The Vipāś is also mentioned in another verse where the car of Uṣas is said to have lain, being broken to pieces by Indra, while she herself frightened, fled far away from her ruined car.[290]

The Paruṣṇī was famous on account of the war of Ten Kings which was fought on its left bank[291]. According to two verses[292] its valley seems to

290. अपोषा अनसः सरत्सन्पिष्टादह बिभ्युषी। नि यत्सीं शिश्नथद्वृषा IV-30-10

291. VII-18.

292. वृषा वृषन्धिं चतुरश्रिमस्यन्नुग्रो बाहुभ्यां नृतमः शचीवान्।
श्रिये परुष्णीमुषमाण ऊर्णां यस्याः पर्वाणि सख्याय विव्ये। IV-22-2 and

have been famous for its wool. It is also mentioned in connection with a king named Śaviṣṭha, the client of Gopavana Ātreya[293].

Section V

The Fifth Group

The Asiknī, the Marudvṛdhā and the Vitastā.

The fifth group was formed by the Asiknī, the Marudvṛdhā and the Vitastā, which, as indicated by one verse,[294] joined together and then fell independently into the (Parāvat) sea. The biggest of them *viz.* the Marudvṛdhā was considered to be the main river and is addressed in the verse, while the other two are mentioned in the instrumental case indicating that they are looked upon as tributaries of the former. The expression 'with the Asiknī O! Marudvṛdhā with the Vitastā'[295] can have no other meaning. Of these the Vitastā is identified with the Jhelum, also known as the B(V)ihāt or Veth, the Asiknī with the Canāb or Candrabhāgā and the Marudvṛdhā with the combined stream of the two. Apparently these identifications seem to be correct, specially as the Greeks have called the Canāb by the name Ak (c)esines, which is supposed to be a corruption of Asiknī. Nevertheless, there are strong reasons to believe that, though the identification of the Vitastā with the Jhelum is correct, the same is not the case with the other two.

So far as I know, there is no other instance, either in the Ṛgveda or in any other early work of Indian literature in which the combined stream of the two rivers has got a separate name. On the other hand, there are many examples where the combined stream is called by the name of whichever is supposed to be its more important affluent. Besides, the combined stream of those days, joining the Parāvat sea as it did, would have a rather

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उत स्म ते परुष्ण्यामूर्णा वसत शुन्ध्यवः।
उत पव्या रथानामद्रिं भिन्दन्त्योजसा।। V-52-9.

293. सत्यमित्त्वा महेनदि परुष्ण्यव देदिशम्।
नेमापो अश्वदातरः शविष्ठादस्ति मर्त्यः।। VIII-74-15.

294. X-75-5. (see footnote 9).

295. असिक्न्या मरुद्वृधे वितस्तया X-75-5.

short course not deserving a separate name. It is, therefore, very unlikely that the combined stream of the Canāb and the Jhelum would have a separate name for itself.

Besides, there is a tributary of the Canāb, now called the Maruvardhvan, a likely corruption of Marudvṛdhā, which flows from the north through the Maru Valley of Kaśmīr-Jammū State and joins the Canāb at Kiśtvār, and Stein has identified it with that river.[296] But it is not probable that the ṛṣi meant this tributary, as he addresses the Marudvṛdhā as the main river with the Asiknī and Vitastā as its tributaries. Now, the river Canāb is formed by Candrabhāgā and Maruvardhvan and the combined stream is called by the corrupt name of the former, because it is the bigger affluent. But there is no reason whatsoever why it should not be called by the name of its other tributary, provided the latter was the bigger one of the two at any time. It seems that that was the case in the Ṛgvedic days and the Maruvardhvan, *i.e.* Marudvṛdhā, was considered as the main river with the Candrabhāgā as its affluent. Hence the combined stream of the two was called the Marudvṛdhā in those days and that is obviously the reason why the main river of the group is addressed by that name. Later on, owing probably to the reduction and then complete absence of the snowfall in the lower hills caused by the disappearance of the seas round Sapta Saindhava, the Marudvṛdhā, like many other rivers in the country, suffered reduction in size while the Candrabhāgā which rises in higher mountains still remained a big river. Consequently the combined stream was called after it, the name Marudvṛdhā being confined to the now reduced northern tributary only. The river was, thus, known as the Candrabhāgā in the days of Alexander. But as its Greek form Xandrophagus meant the devourer of Alexander, it was considered a bad omen and he got it changed to Akesines.[297] Akesines being considered a Greek corruption of the Vedic Asiknī, it has been concluded that it was the Vedic name of the Canāb. But, as explained above, the probabilities are that that river was called the Marudvṛdhā after its northern affluent in those days and the identification could not be correct.

The verse shows the Asiknī as a tributary of the Marudvṛdhā and according to the order of narration it must be searched for in the south-

296. Cunningham: *Ancient Geography of India*, Introduction, p. XXXIX, note.

297. Max Müller. *India*, p. 173.

east of the latter and between it and the Paruṣṇī. Now, Mahābhārata mentions[298] a river called the (northern) Āpagā, which is said to be situated in the north of the Śatadru (*i.e.* the Śutudrī) and the Irāvatī (*i. e.* the Paruṣṇī) and to flow past Śākala, the capital of the Madras, also known as the Vāhikas or Jārtikas. This Śākala has been identified with Sāṅglā by Cunningham and Siālkoṭ by others, both of which are situated on the now very much attenuated river called the Aik. Cunningham describes this river under the name of Ayak or Ayek.[299] Rising in the hills to the north-east of Siālkoṭ, it ran past that town and then westwards up to near Sodhrā, where in the rainy season it threw off its superfluous water in the Canāb. It, then, turned south-south-west and ran past Baṅkā and Nandanvā to Bhutālā [300] and continued the same course till within a few miles above Asarūr, where it divided into two branches, which passing east and west of that town reunited at 2½ miles south of Sāṅglāvālā Ṭībā. It then ran for about fifteen miles south-west of that place under the name Nandanvā canal before being lost in early days. Its old bed was known to have existed twenty *kos* to the south-west of Asarūr and it was remembered to have joined the Rāvī in still earlier days. It must have, therefore, been the 'small rivulet' of Arrian, near which Alexander had pitched his camp and from which he got water for his army 11½ miles to the east of Akesines and below its junction with Hydaspes. The water of the Aik would have, therefore, flowed for a long distance below Sāṅglā in those days. During the reign of Shāh-Jahān, the crown prince Dārā Śikoh drew a canal from it at Dhakvālā 24 miles above Asarūr to Śikohpurā, which was called the Aik or Jhiṭpī canal. This cut formed the main channel of the stream.[301] The old bed of the Aik was traceable for some distance below Sāṅglā and again from 18 miles east of Jhaṅg and was finally lost about 12 miles east of Shorkoṭ. In ancient times it used to run much farther and joined the Canāb about half way between Shorkoṭ and Multān. The lowest part of its course is now occupied by the Rāvī which has shifted its confluence with the Canāb from below Multān upwards.[302]

298. Karṇa parva, XLIV.
299. Cunningham : *Ancient Geography of India.*
300. probaby Bhutilaya of *Mahābhārata*, Karṇa parva, XLIV.
301. *Imperial Gazetteer of India* Vol. XXII, p. 270.
302. Cunningham: *Ancient Geography of India*, map No. V and VI and p. 212, 213, 239 & 240.

Modern maps show this river as running up to a mile and a half south-east of Sodhrā-Koprā railway station, where its bed is shown as lost for about one mile, but is again formed by a small *nālā* which joined it there. It then divides into two just south of the railway station. One branch going westwards joins a small tributary of the Canāb about a mile and a quarter below Vazīrābād. During the rainy season the flood water of the Aik goes into the Canāb via this channel. The other branch runs south-west and disappears about half a mile south of Dhauṅkal railway station. It restarts about a mile in the east of Baṅkā-Cīnā (Baṅkā of Cunningham) and is traceable for about 12 miles, passing about one mile east of Kilāske, and is finally lost two miles east of Bhutālā.

From the account given by Cunningham it is evident that it was a fairly large river at one time, which threw its water into the Canāb partly near Vazīrābād and partly between Shorkoṭ and Multān, where the Rāvī joins that river now. Its lower branch became a tributary of the Rāvī when that river shifted northwards. It was thus in a curious position, being both a short-coursed tributary of the Canāb and a fairly long river which at first joined the same river and then the Rāvī much further down. But it must have been a fairly large river in pre-Alexander days, so as to be able to carve out such a long channel for itself. It is very likely that in very early days, it sent all its water into the lower branch and joined the Canāb only between Shorkoṭ and Multān. In fact, Cunningham has shown it as such, *i.e.* flowing about ten miles south of Sodhrā without throwing any branch to join the Canāb near Vazīrābād and uniting with that river and, later on, with the Rāvī further down.[303] But he is not correct regarding the period. The river must have done so long before the days of Alexander. But afterwards it shifted its course northwards between Siālkoṭ and Bhutālā and began to throw more and more of its water into the Canāb near Vazīrābād, reducing its lower channel into a small rivulet as found by the Greeks at the time of Alexander's invasion. As a result, it was looked upon merely as a short-coursed affluent of the Canāb like the Marudvṛdhā and the Candrabhāgā which formed it further up. It must have been for this reason that when Alexander was in search of another name for the united stream, he selected the name of this tributary, which joined the Candrabhāgā not far from his course, and

303. Cunningham: *Ancient Geography of India*, map Nos. V & VI.

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was more likely to be within his realm than the distant Marudvṛdha. Besides, the name Akesines is more likely to have been derived from the corrupt form Aik than the Vedic Asiknī.

The name Aik in its turn is very likely to be a vulgar corruption of the Asiknī, while Āpagā is very probably an effort at Saṁskṛtization of the corrupt form. It seems, therefore, more reasonable to believe that Asiknī was the Vedic name of the Epic (northern) Āpagā and the vulgar Aik; while Marudvṛdhā was in reality the name of the later Candrabhāgā, *i. e.* the Canāb, called the Akesines only by the Greeks and not Indians.

Its mention with the Sindhu in one verse[304] also indicates that it was a fairly big river in those days, which supports the conclusion already drawn from its history.

Like most of the rivers of the Sarasvatī group, the Asiknī-Āpagā-Aik also rises in the lower Himālayas and must have, therefore, got attenuated owing to the gradually decreasing snowfall and rainfall after the disappearances of the seas like them. Its lower channel has now more or less completely disappeared and it rarely has enough water even to reach Sodharā and join the Canāb through the upper branch.

As stated above, the Vitastā is represented by later Bihāt and the modern Jhelum. It is still known as the Veth, another corruption of Vitastā, in Kaśmīr. The name Vitastā means of the size of a span. It shows that the Jhelum was a very small river in the Ṛgvedic age. It is not mentioned in any other verse, which means that it was not of much importance in those days. Very probably, it got increased in size with what is described as the bursting of the Satīsar, *i. e.* the Śaryaṇāvat sea, in the Nīlamata in post-Ṛgvedic days.

As explained above, the Marudvṛdhā (Canāb) was the main river of this group and one of the seven independent rivers of the country with the Asiknī (Aik) and the Vitastā (Jhelum) as its tributaries. It must have, therefore, joined the Parāvat sea directly after receiving the waters of the other two rivers. As it happens, the country through which they ran in the Ṛgvedic days is of quite a different type from the country near the shores of the ancient Sarasvat sea. Besides, the Paruṣṇī, the Asiknī and the Marud-

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304. यत्सिन्धौ यदसिक्न्यां यत्समुद्रेषु मरुतः सुबर्हिषः।
यत्पर्वतेषु भेषजम्।। VIII-20-25.

vṛdhā have run across the probable ancient channels of the last two and the Vitastā. There are, therefore, no old beds left to give the slightest indication regarding their ancient courses. But as the Śutudrī, the Vipāś and the Paruṣṇī on one side and, as will be presently seen, the Suṣomā and the Ārjīkīyā on the other, ran a much more southerly course in the Ṛgvedic days, it is very likely that these three rivers did the same and the combined stream joined the Parāvat sea somewhere in the east of the Samundrī area and that they were pushed north-westwards by the same forces, which shifted the rivers of the fourth and the sixth groups in the same direction. It is known that the Canāb flowed east of Multān up to about the middle of the 13th century A. D. and it may be that it ran further east in ancient days.

Section VI

The Sixth Group

The Suṣomā and the Ārjīkīyā. This group consisted of only two rivers *viz.* the Suṣomā and the Ārjīkīyā. There is an expression in a verse which shows that the former was looked upon as the main river and the latter as its tributary.[305] In another verse[306] the Suṣomā and the Ārjīkīyā rivers are mentioned in that order after the Śaryaṇāvat sea; while in still another verse of the same maṇḍala, the Suṣoma and the Ārjīka mountains, which obviously gave rise to the rivers bearing the same names in feminine gender, are mentioned in the same sequence with the Śaryaṇāvat mountains between them.[307] The Ārjīka mountain is again mentioned in another verse[308] after the mention of the Śaryaṇāvat sea in the previous verse; while the Ārjīkas (*i. e.* the tribe which gave their name to the mountain and the river) and the Kṛtvas (probably another name of the Suṣomas who gave their name to the tributary and the mountain from which it arose) are mentioned in one verse,[309] after the mention of the same sea

305. आर्जीकीये...सुषोमया X-75-5. (see footnote 9).
306. VIII-64-11. (see Chapter 1 footnote 129).
307. VIII-7-29. (see Chapter 1 footnote 131).
308. IX-113-2. (see Chapter 1 footnote 432).
309. IX-65-23. (see Chapter 4 footnote 134).

in the preceding verse. The Suṣomā and the Ārjīkīyā would, therefore, appear to be the names of two rivers in the west of Kaśmīr, the Suṣomā running in the south-east of the Ārjīkīyā. Again, in another verse,[310] they are mentioned after the Vitastā and the description in that verse being from south-east to north-west, they would appear to be two rivers in the north-west of the Jhelum. They would, therefore, be the two largest rivers of the northern Pañjāb.

Unfortunately, Yāska has explained Ārjīkīyā as another name of the Vipāś and Suṣomā as that of the Sindhu; and Sāyaṇa and modern scholars, except Martin, have blindly followed him. The non-mention of the Vipāś, a tributary of the Śutudrī;[311] is no valid reason, as the tributaries and the sister rivers of the Sarasvatī, the affluents of the Yamunā and the rivers of the second group are also not mentioned in that hymn. It is only from the Paruṣṇī onwards that the ṛṣi begins to mention the tributaries as well, while in the south-east he has just enumerated the four large and main rivers only. Besides, the mention of the Vipāś after the Vitastā will be out of place, as the order of enumeration is from south-east to north-west. Nor can Suṣomā mean the Sindhu, which is mentioned in the subsequent verse. The Suṣomā is mentioned in the instrumental case and the Ārjīkīyā in the vocative, which can only mean that the former was a tributary of the latter. The Sindhu cannot be described as a tributary of the Vipāś by any stretch of imagination. As a matter of fact, as explained above, the Vipāś was a tributary of the Śutudrī, which in its turn was an independent river joining the Sarasvat sea directly and not a tributary of the Sindhu through the Marudvṛdhā, as it is now. This Vipāś had, therefore, no connection whatsoever with the Sindhu and could not be associated with the latter as the Ārjīkīyā is with the Suṣomā or the Marudvṛdhā with the Asiknī and the Vitastā. In fact it would be absurd to speak of 'O Vipāś with the Sindhu.' The explanation of Yāska is, therefore, thoroughly unjustified and a result of the lack of correct information. One can easily judge how remote he was from the Ṛgvedic age from the fact that he quotes a scholar, surnamed Kautsa, as saying that the Ṛk verses have no meaning. There is, thus, no reason to hold Yāska as the final authority; and follow-

310. X-75-5. (see footnote 9).
311. *i.e.*-in X-75.

ing the order of description in a verse[312] and the indications given by the other verses quoted above we must look for them in the north-west of the Jhelum and in the west of Kaśmīr. The Suṣomā would, thus, be the Sohān and the Ārjīkīyā the Hāro, the two eastern tributaries of the Indus in the north-west of the Jhelum. It may be objected, that in that case the order of description in that verse will be reversed, as Hāro is situated in the north of the Sohān. But Sohān is more obviously a corruption of Suṣomā and Hāro of Ārjīkīyā than vice versa. Besides, as mentioned above, in two verses[313] the Suṣoma and the Suṣomā are mentioned before the Ārjīka and the Ārjīkīyā. The Suṣomā would, therefore, be the more south-eastern *i. e.* the Sohān and the Ārjīkīyā, the more north-western *viz.* the Hāro, the order of description in the verse quoted above being reversed in their case for some reason or other. Curiously enough the same alteration of order is found at the end of 6th verse, where the Krumu, with its tributary, the Mehatnu, is mentioned before the Gomatī, while the order of description there, is from north to south. Probably this change of order at the end of both the verses is intentional and due to some now obscure reasons.

At present both these rivers join the Indus separately; but the verse shows the Ārjīkīyā to be an independent and one of the seven main rivers of the country like the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā etc., with the Suṣomā as its tributary in the same way as the Paruṣṇī of the Śutudrī and Asiknī and the Vitastā of the Marudvṛdhā and unlike the rivers mentioned in the sixth verse with which the Sindhu is said to unite one after another. Incredible as it may appear, that is the position revealed by a natural interpretation of the verse. We have, therefore, to conclude that these two rivers ran a much more southerly course in Ṛgvedic days and, after uniting, passed over the area now occupied by the salt range possibly near Nammat in Miānvālī Tehsīl (the small lake near which may be a remnant of their old course) and joined the Parāvat sea somewhere in Bhakkar Tehsīl. Unbelievable again as it may seem, this would indicate an altogether different slope in the country between the Jhelum and the Indus in the north of the Salt range in Ṛgvedic days from what it is today. We must, however, remember that the Salt range is not mentioned in the

312. X-75-5. (see footnote 9).
313. VIII-7-29 and 64-11. (see Chapter 1, footnote 131 and 129 respectively).

verses and the explanation may be that the hills of this range did not exist as high in those days, but were pushed up from the bowels of the Earth by the same forces which upheaved the bed of the Parāvat sea further south, as a result of which the slope in the area north of the range was reversed and the lower courses of Suṣomā and the Ārjīkīyā were shifted north-westwards making them independent of each other and separate tributaries of the Indus.

Section VII

The Seventh Group

This group was formed by the Sindhu and its tributaries and their affluents of those days.

The Sītā or Sitā and the Śunāsīra or Asitā.

Some editions of the Ṛgveda insert another verse between the fifth and the sixth verses of X-75 as it stands in others. This verse mentions two other rivers called the Sitā and the Asitā, which are described as joining together. It is a palpable interpolation of a much later age at least in its present form and Sāyaṇa has not taken any notice of it for that reason. Now in the first verse of X-75, the rivers praised in the hymn are said to be 'Saptasapta Tredhā'[314] which is interpreted by some as twenty one, but literally translated means 'seven three times seven' *i. e.*t wenty-eight. The hymn, as it stands today without the spurious verse, gives only nineteen names. In case the Sitā and the Asitā of this verse be added the total becomes twenty-one. Griffith and others have read two other names *viz.* the Sīlamāvatī and the Ūrṇāvatī in another verse[315] to complete the number twenty-one, which they understand to be the meaning of the expression.[316] But the verse does not show them to be the names of separate rivers, but either the adjectives or the local epithets of the Sindhu itself,

314. सप्त सप्त त्रेधा X-75-1

315. स्वश्वा सिन्धुः सुरथा सुवासा हिरण्ययी सुकृता वाजिनीवती।
ऊर्णावती युवतिः सीलमावत्युताधि वस्ते सुभगा मधुवृधम्।। X-75-8.

316. *i. e.* 'सप्त सप्त त्रेधा'।

which is the river praised in it. Besides, the above expression clearly means twenty-eight and not twenty-one. It seems that originally there were more verses in the hymn giving the names of nine other rivers, including one containing two names between the fifth and sixth verses of present days. But they were lost and some one, who suspected the fact and knew the identity of the latter two rivers by some means or other, composed this spurious verse and inserted it in place of the lost one. If this explanation be considered feasible, then, following the order of description, the Sitā and the Asitā would be the two fairly big streams in the north of the Hāro *viz.* the Ḍor (or Ḍorī) and the Sīran, which unite together and join the Indus near Turbelā in the Hazārā district. The verse does not show what course they followed in ancient days.

There are reasons to believe that these two rivers are mentioned in another hymn of the Ṛgveda as well. The deities of a hymn of the fourth maṇḍala[317] are Kṣetrapati (lord of the fields), Śuna, Sīra (or the combined Śunāsīra) and Sītā. Scholars have explained the first as agriculture personified or the popular Genius Loci meaning either Rudra or Agni. But in one verse, the Kṣetrapati is asked to pour waves full of honey as a cow gives milk and is said to be dripping honey like clarified butter.[318] Such expressions are generally used only for the seas and the rivers in some verses.[319] In one verse the Sindhu is described as owning good fields.[320] The Kṣetrapati of the hymn referred to above is, therefore, more likely to be the river Sindhu, which being the largest river is very frequently mentioned in masculine gender.

Śuna and Sīra are supposed to be the deities or deified objects connected with agriculture, *viz.* Vāyu or Āditya (*i. e.* the sun) according to Yāska, ploughshare and plough according to Roth and plough and ploughman according to Grassman. But in one verse the combined Śunāsīra is requested to irrigate the land with milk made in heaven.[321] The

317. IV-57.

318. मधुमन्तमूर्मि धेनुरिव पयोऽअस्मासु धुक्ष्व।
मधुश्चुतं घृतमिव......IV-57-2 ।

319. *e.g.* for Sarasvat sea in VII-96-5, for the Sarasvatī in VII-95-2 and for other rivers in IX-74-6.

320. सुक्षेत्रा सिन्धुरद्भिः I-122-6.

321. शुनासीराविमां वाचं जुषेथां यद्दिवि चक्रथुः पयः। तेनेमामुप सिञ्चतम्। IV-57-5.

milk made in heaven is obviously the water poured by the rain clouds and the deities which could irrigate the land with it will be some deified rivers, which would receive it in due course.

Similarly the Sitā is supposed to be personified furrow or husbandry, but in a verse the ṛṣi speaks of milching or draining the milk-filled Sītā for ever and ever[322]. The milk of the Sitā would be its water as in the case of the Sarasvatī in one verse[323] and the milching or draining the irrigation of the land with it.

The Śunāsīra (*i.e.* the combined Śuna and Sīra) and the Sītā would, therefore, be the names of two rivers near the Indus and apparently of the Asitā and Sitā of the spurious verse between the fifth and sixth verses already mentioned, *i. e.* the modern Sīran and Ḍor. The combination of the Śuna and Sīra (Śunāsīra) like the Vipāṭcutudrī (Vipāś Śutudrī), and Sarasvatī-vīrapatnī[324] indicates that they united together before joining the Sitā. The Śuna would, then probably be the Ūnar or may be the Maṅgal, which joins the Sīran before the latter unites with the Ḍor.

The Vibālī and the Vitasthānā. In one verse Indra is said to surround, restrict or dam the Sindhu, the vibālī and the Vitasthānā with his wonderful power or contrivance.[325] Literally translated Vibālī means one whose childhood has passed. Scholars have interpreted it to mean 'full of water' or 'the overflowing stream', though Griffith has indicated the possibility of its being the proper name of a stream. Similarly, the Vitasthānā means stopping or being stopped and has been interpreted as one spreading her water over the land. Both these interpretations are unnatural and uncalled for. The words clearly appear to be the names of the two streams associated with the Sindhu, all three of which were kept restricted in some wonderful way. This definition fits in with the Indus and its two comparatively large upper tributaries *viz.* the Zāskār and the Śyok (the Śauyook of Max Müller) in the regions of Balṭisthān in Kaśmīr territory. In that region they are very frequently obstructed by huge icebergs like the so-called Śyok dam of modern times. It is, therefore,

322. पयस्वती दुहामुत्तरामुत्तरां समाम्, IV-57-7.
323. एकाचेतत्सरस्वती नदीनां शुचिर्यती गिरिभ्य आ समुद्रात्।
रायश्चेतन्ती भुवनस्य भूरेर्घृतं पयो दुदुहे नाहुषाय॥ VII-95-2.
324. III-33-1 and VI-49-7 respectively.
325. उत सिन्धुं विबाल्यं वितस्थानामधि क्षमि परि ष्ठा इन्द्र मायया IV-30-12.

very probable that the Vibālī and the Vitasthānā were the Śyok and the Zāskār.

The name Śyok or Śauyook is very likely a corruption of the Saṁskṛta Śyāvakī derived from the Śyāvakas, a tribe[326] which might have lived in its valley in later days.

The Sindhu. Reverting to the hymn referred to above[327], we now come to the Sindhu, which is addressed as the main river in one verse[328]. It was, then, as now, the mightiest river of the land as stated in one verse.[329] In fact, it was recognised as 'the river' of the country as indicated by its name. Still, there is only one hymn less one verse[330] and a section of another hymn[331], where it is addressed as Kṣetrapati, in its praise. The deified Sindhu is praised in many verses, but it is impossible to say whether in these verses the word 'Sindhu' means the Indus river or a sea. The probabilities are mostly in favour of the latter. Besides, the word often means a river in general and not the Indus in particular. The only verses in which the word Sindhu may be taken to mean the Indus river with more or less certainty are: I-122-6, in which it is described as donor of gifts and owner of good fields[332]; I-186-5 in which the ṛṣi speaks of its coming like a mother nourishing her young one[333]; II-15-6, in which Indra is said to have turned its water upwards or northwards; IV-30-12, in which it is associated with the Vibālī and the Vitasthānā and where Indra is said to restrict or dam these rivers with his wonderful contrivance; IV-55-3, in which it is deified; V-53-9 in which it is mentioned with several other rivers; VIII-12-3 in which Indra is said to drive it and other rivers like cars;[334]; VIII-20-25, in which it is mentioned with the Asiknī; VIII-26-18, in which it is mentioned with the Śvetayāvarī and is said to have a golden path[335];

326. mentioned in VIII-3-12 & 4-2.
327. X-75.
328. X-75-6. (see footnote 34).
329. प्र सु व आपो महिमानमुत्तमं कारुर्वोचाति सदने विवस्वतः।
प्र सप्तसप्त त्रेधा हि चक्रमुः प्र सृत्वरीणामति सिन्धुरोजसा॥ X-75-1
330. *i. e.* X-75.
331. *viz* IV-57-1 to 3.
332. सुक्षेत्रा।
333. शिशुं न पिप्युषीव वेति सिन्धुः।
334. येन सिन्धुं महीरपो रथाँ इव प्रचोदयः।
335. हिरण्यवर्तनिः।

X-64-9, in which it is mentioned as a mighty river together with the Sarayu and the Sarasvatī and X-65-13 and 66-11, in both of which it is deified, with the Sarasvatī in the former and with others in both. There is not a single verse, including those in which it is uncertain whether the word Sindhu means the river Indus or a sea or river in general[336], in which it is praised or mentioned in such endearing terms as are used for the Sarasvatī in the verses quoted elsewhere. It was, thus, not revered and loved in the same way and to the same extent as the Sarasvatī. It is quite clear that, though the ṛṣi in one hymn[337] describes the grandeur of the Sindhu in picturesque language, he does not express the same sort of sentiments towards it, as are shown for the great river of the south-east in many other hymns.[338] This must be due to the fact that it was not the valley of the Sindhu which was known to be the earlier or the original home of the Ārya religion and culture and the cradle of their earliest pioneers. From another verse[339] its valley seems to have been famous for its horses, cars, cloth, wool, cordage, gold etc.

As already stated, one verse[340] speaks of the Sindhu changing its course northwards. It would thus appear that in the earliest known days it ran more westerly in its upper course and, entering the Kaśmīr valley, joined the Śaryaṇāvat sea. Some verses read together[341] probably refer to the same period, when large rivers brought their waters as a tribute to the Vajra (bone of Dadhīci or horse's head) which was lying deep in that sea. But later on, it changed its course and skirted that sea and the mountains around it in the north-east as a result of some seismic disturbances in its valley near Leh. It then began to run in its present channel and, uniting with Tṛṣṭāmā and others, joined the Parāvat sea somewhere on the border of the Ḍerā-Ismāil Khān and Miānvālī districts below its confluence with the Gomatī wherever that was in the Ṛgvedic age. Its memory is still preserved in the Kaśmīr valley by a river, probably supposed to represent a part of its

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336. such as I-11-6, 27-6, 44-12, 83-1, 94-16, 95-11, 96-9 & 126-1 etc.
337. X-75.
338. *e.g.* VI-61 etc.
339. X-75-8. (see footnote 315).
340. सोदञ्चं सिन्धुमरिणान्महित्वा वज्रेणान उषसः सं पिपेष।
अजवसो जविनीभिर्विवृश्चन्त्सोमस्य ता मद इन्द्रश्चकार॥ II-15-6.
341. *i.e.* VIII-100-9 read with 1-84-13 & 14.

old course, being called the Sindhu and regarded as the most sacred river of the valley.

The Tṛṣṭāmā. In a verse the Sindhu is said to unite first with the Tṛṣṭāmā, obviously with reference to the northern part of the Sapta Saindhava.[342] The first river, which joined the Indus as it turns southwards and enters that part of the country, is the combined stream of the Ghizr, the Yāsīn, the Askoman and the Hunzā rivers, known as the Gilgit. It is, therefore, very probably the Ṛgvedic Tṛṣṭāmā.

The Susartu, (the north-western) Rasā, the Śvetī, the Anitabhā and the Kubhā. The Sindhu is, then, said to unite with the Susartu, the Rasā, the Śvetī, and the Kubhā in that order in one verse.[343] But another verse gives the Rasā, the Anitabhā, the Kubhā, the Krumu and the Sindhu in that sequence.[344] Thus, there are two rivers mentioned between the Rasā and the Kubbā *viz.* the Śvetī and Anitabhā without any definite clue to judge which was nearer to Kubhā except the resemblance in the last syllables between it and the Anitabhā which might indicate their neighbourhood. If that be accepted, the Śvetī would be a river nearer the Rasā and the order will be the Susartu, the Rasā, the Śvetī, the Anitabhā and the Kubhā from north to south. There could be no doubt of Kubhā being the Kābul river called the Kophes or Kophen by the Greeks; while the Tṛṣṭāmā has already been identified with the Gilgit river. The Susartu, the Rasā, the Śvetī, and the Anitabhā, will, therefore, be the Daril, the Taṅgir, the Kāndīā and the Barandū respectively, which are the only noteworthy rivers joining the Indus from the north-west between Gilgit and Kābul.

The Krumu, the Mehatnu and the Gomatī. The Sindhu is, then, said to go to the Gomatī and the Krumu, and the latter is said to unite with the Mehatnu.[345] But as shown above[346] the Krumu is mentioned just after the Kubhā. Besides, the Krumu is more likely to be the Kurram in the north and the Gomatī, the Gomal, in the south, as generally accepted than vice versa. The order of description is, therefore, reversed in the case of these

342. तृष्टामया प्रथमं यातवे सजूः। X-75-6.
343. सुसुर्त्वा रसयाश्वेत्या त्या। त्वं सिन्धो कुभया। X-75-6.
344. रसानितभा कुभा क्रुमुर्मा 'वः सिन्धुर्नि।' V-53-9.
345. गोमतीं क्रुमुं मेहत्न्वा सरथं याभिरीयसे X-75-6.
346. in V-53-9, कुभा क्रुमुर्मा।

last rivers of the sixth verse as in the case of the Suṣomā and Ārjīkīyā, the last rivers of the fifth.

The Mehatnu is mentioned in the instrumental case with the Krumu. It would, therefore, be a tributary of that river. It is not mentioned again. The Kurram has got two fairly biggish tributaries *viz.* the Kaitu, which flows past Mātun, and the Tocī with its affluent Mastoī. One of these must have been known as the Mehatnu in the Ṛgvedic age and probably the former, as Mātun might have got its name from the Mehatnu in the same way as Kābul town from Kubhā.

The Gomatī is also mentioned in a verse in connection with the migration of Nārya.[347]

The Śvetayāvarī. The Śvetayāvarī is mentioned with Sindhu in one verse.[348] The name suggests its connection with the Śveta, *i. e.* the modern Safed range. It is, therefore, very likely to be the Kohāṭ Toī which rises in the Safed Koh and joins the Indus between the Kābul and the Kurram rivers.

The Prayiyu, the Vayiyu and the Suvāstu. These three rivers are mentioned together[349] in a verse. This verse is described as very obscure by the scholars; but if, following the example of the Suvāstu, we accept the Prayiyu and the Vayiyu, to be the names of two rivers in the vicinity, all difficulties disappear.

The Suvāstu is, of course, the Subhāvastu of later days, the Soastos of the Greeks and the Svāt of modern times. This river, also known as the Usu in its upper course, rises near Palesar pass and, after uniting with the Pañjakorā, joins the Kābul river near Nisothā. As the ṛṣi speaks of their ford[350], it seems that the other two rivers also joined the Kābul river close by. They are, therefore, very likely to be the Bārā and the Tarim rivers, which join the Kābul river about 5 miles above and below Nisothā respectively, and may have joined still closer to the confluence of the Svāt-Pañjakorā with that river in Ṛgvedic days.

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347. यत्त्वा पृच्छादीजानः कुहया कुहयाकृते।
एषो अपश्रितो वलो गोमतीमव तिष्ठति। VIII-24-30.

348. VIII-26-18.

349. VIII-19-37.

350. प्रयियोर्वयियोः सुवास्त्वा अधितुग्वनि VIII-19-37.

The Gaurī. This river is mentioned in two verses.[351] It is described in a rather picturesque language in the former. It is said to cut its stream (into several channels) so as to appear desirous of having one, two, four, eight or nine feet and to be noisy and creating a thousand sounds in the atmosphere.[352] The latter verse describes Soma as living or present, *i. e.* growing, in the valley of this river.[353] It is, therefore, the modern Pañjakorā, called the Guraus or Gourios (*i. e.* the Gaurī) by the Greeks. The word Pañja *i. e.* the Saṁskṛta Pañca, probably carries on the tradition referred to in the former verse. The combined stream of the Svāt-Pañjakorā still divides into many channels before joining the Kābul river at Nisothā. The Pañjakorā (Pañca Gaurī) also known as the Yarkhun rises from the Hindukush *i. e.* the Mūjavat mountains, the Soma of which was highly valued.

The Kuṣavā. A verse mentions a river called Kuṣavā, which is said to have swallowed Indra when thrown into it by a young lady, but the waters of which were gracious to him and he came out at once.[354] It seems that in the early days the cult of Indra was at first rejected by the inhabitants of the valley of this river, who might have had a young lady as their goddess or queen at that time, but was accepted later on. It appears to be the Choeus or Koeus of the Greeks and the Kūnar of modern days, which is a tributary of the Kābul river in the west of Pañjakorā. The word Kuṣavā means one on or near which Soma is not well pressed. The Kūnar rises from the Hindukush (Mūjavat) mountains. The Soma plant must have been growing at and near its sources as well as along its valley. But, as indicated by the mention of the throwing away of Indra by the young lady into its water, the Indra cult was not prevalent in its valley in ancient days. The pressing of Soma would have been either unknown, or if known, would not be considered proper by the Āryas because the juice was not being offered to Indra.

351. I-164-41 and IX-12-3.

352. गौरीर्मिमाय सलिलानि तक्षत्येकपदी द्विपदी सा चतुष्पदी।
अष्टापदी नवपदी बभूवुषी सहस्राक्षरा परमे व्योमन्॥ I-164-41

353. सोमो गौरी अधि श्रितः IX-12-3.

354. ममच्चन त्वा युवतिः परास ममच्चन त्वा कुषवा जगार।
ममच्चिदापः शिशवे ममृड्युर्ममच्चिदिन्द्रः सहसोदतिष्ठत्॥ IV-18-8.

Section VIII

The Remaining Rivers

So far, I have been able to trace and identify with more or less certainty fifty-three rivers mentioned by names in the Ṛgveda. In addition, the Kṛṣṇāvatī is, as explained before, very likely to have derived its name from the Ṛgvedic Kṛṣṇas and would have, therefore, been probably known by that name in those days also. That makes the total fifty-four. We have, then, to trace and identify thirty-six or forty-five more streams if we accept the total number to be ninety or ninety-nine on the authority of three verses.[355] As all the big streams have already been identified, these thirty-six or forty-five must be smaller affluents of the identified rivers and I have not been able to trace them if they are at all mentioned.

As explained previously, there are seven names missing from one section.[356] They could not possibly be the rivers of the south-east, as those omitted from that part of the country could not be mentioned in any subsequent verse without breaking the order of description. It must be noted that the hymn was recited at Vivasvat Sadana, that the order of description is from south-east to north-west and that the smaller rivers of the south-east, such as the affluents of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, the rivers of the second group, the tributaries and sister rivers of the Sarasvatī, the Vipāś and the other affluents of the Śutudrī and finally, the Candrabhāgā, a large tributary of the Marudvṛdhā, are not mentioned; while even the smaller tributaries of the Sindhu and an affluent of the Krumu are mentioned. It seems that the ṛṣi Sindhukṣit Praiyamedha was a native of the south-east, who had gone travelling north-west and on return encompassed his knowledge in the hymn and recited it at the chief centre of his part of the country. That must have been the reason, why he did not consider it necessary to mention the rivers of that region in detail as the same would have been well known to his audience. It is, therefore, quite reasonable to suppose that the missing seven names were those of some rivers on the other side of the Sindhu and possibly of the affluents of the Kubhā, five of which are, as shown above, mentioned in other verses. The remaining two might have

355. I-80-8. I-32-14 and I.191-13.
356. X-75.

been the Kalpānī and the Capriar, both of which join the Kābul river below Kūnar.

It might be added that Ṛjitī, Enī, Ruśitā, Citrā, Hiraṇyayayī, Ūrṇāvatī and Sīlamāvatī mentioned in two verses[357] and supposed to be the names of seven separate rivers by some scholars, do not appear to be so, but only adjectives or local epithets of the Sindhu, the river praised in those verses.

357. X-75-7 & 8.

ऋजीत्येनी रुशती महित्वा परि ज्रयांसि भरते रजांसि।

अदब्धा सिन्धुरपसामपस्तमाश्वा न चित्रा वपुषीव दर्शता। X-75-7.

For the second verse see footnote 315.

6

THE BOUNDARIES OF SAPTA SAINDHAVA

As far as I could trace, there is, in the Ṛgveda, no mention of any geographical features in the east of the Gaṅgā and the Arvāvat sea, in the south of the northern Pāriyātras and the Sarasvat sea, in the west of the Parāvat sea and the western mountain ranges and in the north of the Mūjavat and the western Himālaya mountains. The Sarasvatī and the Sarayū of the Ṛgveda are the rivers of the south-eastern Sapta Saindhava and not of the Kandhār and Hirāt districts of Afghānistān. Similarly, the Ṛgvedic Sarayū and the Gomatī are not the rivers of Avadh (Oudh).

The mention of the Kīkaṭas[1] is taken by some scholars to mean that the ṛṣi was acquainted with southern Bihār. The tribe might have lived in that region in later days, just as the Yadus lived in Mathurā area and in its south-west right up to the western sea in the post-Ṛgvedic days. But, so far as I know, it has not been suggested by anyone for that reason (except of course Pargiter, who starts at the wrong end on the basis of the Purāṇas) that western India was known to the Ṛgvedic Āryas. The mention of the Kīkaṭas in the Saṁhitā, therefore, does not mean that Bihār was known to the Ṛgvedic people. The Kīkaṭas being in fact the name of a tribe (Janapada) and not of a country, state, division or district in the modern sense of these words, the verse does not prove anything more than that they lived somewhere near the Kuśikas in Sapta Saindhava in the Ṛgvedic days. Nor does the mention of the Yakṣus, in plural number, *i. e.* a tribe ruled by a chief named Yakṣu[2] and his descendants imply any knowledge of the river Oxus (Aksu or Akṣu) as suggested by some scholars. The

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1. किं ते कृण्वन्ति कीकटेषु गावो नाशिरं दुह्रे न तपन्ति घर्मम्।
आ नो भर प्रमगन्दस्य वेदो नैचाशाखं मघवन्रन्धया नः।। III-53-14
2. यक्षवश्च, VII-18-19.

Yakṣus together with the Ajas and the Śigrus lived in the east of the Yamunā.[3] In one verse Indra, aided by the Yamunā and the Tṛtsus, is said to have subjugated the above named three tribes led by Bheda,[4] while in the other the Pṛthus and the Parśus are said to have gone east,[5] to help Sudās against enemies led by Bheda.[6] The only aid that the river Yamunā could have given would be by letting the Tṛtsus cross it easily, just as the Vipāś Śutudrī are said to have done[7]. It is, however, probable that the tribe of the Yakṣus migrated from the east of the Yamunā later on and settling in the valley of the Oxus gave their name to that river, whose main affluent is still known as the Aksu or Akṣu, while Oxus is obviously the Greek corruption of the same name. This conjecture will be further confirmed if, as is not unlikely, Badakhshis and their chief town and district Badakhshān derived their name from Bheda Yakṣu.

It has already been explained why the Arvāvat or the Pūrva sea of the Ṛgveda could not be the so-called Gangetic sea of Das or the unnamed sea in Eastern India of Wells. There being no evidence whatsoever in the Saṁhitā of the ṛṣis knowing of any place in the north of the Mūjavat (Hindukush) and the Himālaya mountains, the conjecture of Das that the northern sea about Sapta Saindhava was probably the sea of central Asia is unwarranted.

The Sapta Saindhava country of the Ṛgvedic period, by which I mean the age when its physical geography was as described above and when the historical events mentioned in the verses took place and not when the Saṁhitā was brought into its present form long afterwards, thus, comprised roughly of the northern parts of the Merath (Meerut) division and the Kumāon division of Uttar Pradesh, a good part of the Ambālā division, the Jalandhar, the Lāhore and the Rāvalpiṇḍī divisions and former princely States of prepartitioned Pañjāb except Bahāvalpur, the Jammu & Kaśmīr State, the former North-West Frontier Province and the eastern parts of

3. VII-18-19 & 83-1.
4. आवदिन्द्रं यमुना तृत्सवश्च प्रात्र भेदं सर्वताता मुषायत्।
अजासश्च शिग्रवो यक्षवश्च बलिं शीर्षाणि जभ्रुरश्व्यानि। VII-18-19.
5. प्राचा गव्यन्तः VII-83-1.
6. इन्द्रावरुणा वधनाभिरप्रति भेदं वन्वन्ता प्र सुदासमावतम्।
ब्रह्माण्येषां शृणुतं हवीमनि सत्या तृत्सूनामभवत्पुरोहितिः॥ VII-83-4.
7. III-33.

Afghānistān. It was, therefore, bounded by the Arvāvat sea and the Tibet in the east Ṭurkistān in the north, the Persian Afghānistān and the Parāvat sea in the west and the Sarasvat sea and the northern Pāriyātras (or Arāvalīs) in the south.

The truth of this view of the boundaries of Sapta Saindhava is borne out by the mention of Indra having killed all the enemies of Sudās Tṛitsu, the mightiest king of the Mānava Bharatas, in the east, west and north without a mention of the south.[8] As will be shown, in its proper place, this refers to the campaign of general conquest,[9] carried out by Sudās Tṛitsu, after which he performed the usual horse sacrifice on 'the best spot on the Earth.' (*i.e.* Ilāspada) to proclaim his sovereignty over the whole country. It was as a result of this conquest that the name Bharatas came to be applied to the Āryas in India and Bharata Khaṇḍa and Bhāratavarṣa to their land later on. But, as mentioned at another place, the important events of the campaign were the defeat of the Śimyus on the Śutudrī and of the ten confederated tribes of the central and north-western parts of Sapta Saindhava on the Paruṣṇī in the north, of the Ajas, the Śigrus and the Yakṣus across the Yamunā in the east, and of Yudhyamadi, probably the king of the Pūrus, in the west.[10] The south and further east are nowhere mentioned. It is inconceivable that the Bharatas had already conquered the whole of the modern India to the south of the Northern Pāriyātras or to the east of the Gaṅgā before the days of Sudās. The stories of the campaigns of the general conquest by the Pāṇḍavas in the Mahābhārata and of others in the same epic and elsewhere read quite differently. The only logical inference is that the remainder of the modern India was not a part of the same country with Sapta Saindhava and the Jambūdvīpa, as it then was, was separated from Sapta Saindhava by barriers not easy to cross in those days. These barriers were the Sarasvat and the Arvāvat seas with the then high ranges of the northern Pāriyātras between them and the Himālayas further north. Similarly the end of the campaign in the north after the defeat of the Yadus, the Turvaśas, the Anus, the Druhyus, the

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8. उप प्रेत कुशिकाश्चेतयध्वमश्वं राये प्र मुञ्चता सुदासः।
राजा वृत्रं जङ्घनत्प्रागपागुदगथा यजाते वर आ पृथिव्याः।। III-53-11.

9. दिग्विजय।

10. VII-18, 33 & 83.

Matsyas, the Pakthas, the Alinas, the Bhalānases, the Śivas, and the Viṣāṇins on the Paruṣṇī shows that the countries to the north of the Himālaya and the Hindūkush and to the west of the western mountains were not known as parts of the Sapta Saindhava. It is, therefore, quite evident that the Sapta Saindhava, as described above, was looked upon as a country by itself and that the rest of later India was quite unknown and unconnected with it.

7

THE GREAT CHANGE

It may not be out of place to discuss here the events which affected the Sapta Saindhava radically and altered its surroundings and physical features at the end of the Ṛgvedic period to what they became since then. So far as I could trace, the first mention of these cataclysmic and seismic disturbances is found in Yajurveda[1], where it is said that the Lord of Creation saw the Earth under water and, becoming Varāha, brought it up, cleaned it and spread it wide. This legend is mentioned in more elaborate forms in the Mahābhārata[2] and the Purāṇas, which leave no doubt that it originated in a deluge, as it is clearly stated that the Earth, the abode of all creatures, had sunk under water. The second event is first alluded to in Atharva Veda[3] which mentions Nāvaprabhraṁśana, as the place where the ship of Manu is supposed to have glided down with the fall of flood waters. It is described in detail in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[4] in the legend of Matsya, better known as the story of Manu's flood. It is alluded to in the Kāṭhaka[5] and is also found in much further developed forms in the later literature. There are, thus, two deluges mentioned in the early post-Ṛgvedic literature, when the land inhabited by the Āryas was invaded by extensive floods sub-merging the whole or at least a good part of the country, barring, of course, the highlands, hills and mountains. This is the only information that could be expected and is available in the early post-Ṛgvedic (the appropriate) literature. These floods are not described as due to downpour of very heavy and extensive rains. They

1. Taittirīya Saṁhitā-VII-1-5-1 et seq.
2. Vana parva CLXI.
3. XIX—39-8.
4. I-8-1.
5. IX-2.

are always stated to be due to the rise of waters of the sea or ocean. They must have, therefore, been caused by the upheavals of seabeds. The Arvāvat sea appears to be the first to be affected. The first deluge is associated with Varāha, whose place is described as a sacred spot in Kurukṣetra.[6] This place is identified with Barāh (Barāh Kalān) near Jīnd (Jayantī) on the southern border of the holy tract by local tradition as well as Cunningham.[7] It is, therefore, most likely that the first deluge was due to an upheaval of the bed of the Arvāvat sea and must have mostly affected the south-eastern parts of the country. The second deluge was apparently a much bigger affair. The story is too well known to need repetition here. It is described more frequently and in a much more elaborate manner in the later literature. It is associated with Manu, who stands for the whole race and the country. The flood, thus, appears to be more extensive and affected almost the whole of the country this time. It would, therefore, be due to the upheaval of the beds of the much bigger Sarasvat and Parāvat seas *i. e.* the Ocean of the Ṛgveda.

The effects of these tremendous and extensive cataclysmic and seismic disturbances on Jambūdvīpa would, of course, have come to the knowledge of the Āryas afterwards and are appropriately described in the usual legendary and mythical forms in later literature, of which the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Mahābhārata are the oldest. The latter deals with the whole story.[8] Described in ordinary language, the first event was the depression, prostration or suppression of the Vindhyas or the Pāriyātras, which names in their wider sense, cover all the mountains of the central parts of India. It is said that these mountains obstructed the path of the sun, *i. e.* the Ārya culture and religion. So the great ṛṣi Agastya went to them with his wife and told them that he had to go to the south and wanted them to lower themselves so as to enable him and his wife to cross them and remain low till the couple returned, which they never did. Thus the mountain ranges got depressed by the strategem of Agastya. Obviously the extensive ranges must have got lowered as a result of some tremendous and violent seismic disturbances, but the event got fathered upon Agastya in legends—probably because his descendants led the first batch of Ārya explorers

6. Mahābhārata, Vana parva LXXXIII.
7. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XIV p. 98.
8. Vana parva, C to CIX.

across the depressed mountains to the southern country newly opened to them. The beds of the Arvāvat and then of the Sarasvat and the Parāvat seas must have been upheaved, causing the two floods in Sapta Saindhava as a result of the same disturbances which depressed the mountains of Jambūdvīpa. But the two events are not connected in the legends because they came to the knowledge of the Āryas at different times, the latter after the former had been associated with Varāha and Matsya and Manu respectively and after the explorations by the Agastyas.

The next stage *viz.* the partial drying up of the upheaved beds of the seas, is related in the legend of Agastya drinking away the water of the Ocean and, according to one version, then urinating to refill it at least in parts. It is said that after Indra had killed Vṛtrāsura, the latter's followers, called the Kālakeyas or Kāleyas, and indiscriminately described as Dānavas, Daityas, Asuras or Rākṣasas, took refuge and began to live in ocean. They frequently attacked the Āryas and killed and devoured them. They are said to have attacked the asylum of Vasiṣṭha (north-east of Thānesar on the Sarasvatī), of Cyavana Bhārgava (on the hill of Ḍhosī near Nārnaul) and of Bhāradvāja (probably somewhere on the banks of the Anumatī) and devoured many Brāhmaṇas living at those places. The Devas, then, approached the great ṛṣi Agastya and, praising him for his past great deeds in dethroning the unorthodox Nahuṣa and depressing the Vindhyas, requested him to dry up the ocean. Agastya went to what is described as the immense watery waste and drank away all water rendering the ocean bed waterless. The Devas, then, attacked the Kāleyas and killed many of them, while the remainder fled and took refuge in the lower regions (the south).

The legend obviously originated in the drying up of the more upheaved parts of the bed of the southern (the Sarasvat) sea. TheMahābhārata mentions the lake of Agastya near Puṣkara with Jambūmārga and Taṇḍulikāśrama between them.[9] As already noted, a Purāṇic version of the legend speaks of Agastya filling up the ocean with his urine *i. e.* salt water. The lake of Agastya may, therefore, be expected to be a salt one and fairly large in size. The even now fairly large and famous salt lake of Sāmbhar is situated not very far in the north of Puṣkara and on the Sapta Saindhava side of the Arāvalis in the south-eastern parts of the desert. The

9. Vana parva LXXXIII.

presence of several smaller salt lakes, *viz.* those of Sargot, Rivāsā, Kucāvan, Ḍīḍvānā etc. in the immediate neighbourhood indicates that the lake of Sāmbhar was a much bigger lake in early days which has been gradually drying up. As a matter of fact, as already stated, it was the remnant of the Ujjālaka sea, which is described as sand-filled (in other parts) and near which Dhundhu was killed by Kuvalāśva Aikṣvāku, an early predecessor of Rāma as mentioned in the Mahābhārata[10] and the Purāṇas. The Ujjālaka sea, in its turn, must have been the southernmost remnant of the Sarasvat sea. The last remnant, *viz.* the lake, must have been named after Agastya, because it was first discovered to the Āryas, by his descendants and the saltishness of its water must have given rise to the legend that it was filled by Agastya with his urine. The Jambūmārga [the path to the Jambū country, also mentioned between Cyavanāśrama (Hills of Ḍhosī) and Puṣkara in the Mahābhārata[11] which indicates that it was in the north of Puṣkara] would be the name of the easiest pass in the Aravalīs between the lake of Agastya and Puṣkara, by which the first batch of Ārya explorers, probably led by the Agastyas, crossed these mountains on their way to Jambūdvīpa. Puṣkara is described as the place where Brahmā, the personified Creative Power of the Almighty, performed his austerities and is acknowledged to be the second most sacred place in India after Kurukṣetra, the 'Northern altar of Brahmā' or Brahmāvarta. Barring Kurukṣetra, it is the only place held sacred to Brahmā in the whole country and has a temple of that deity. There are caves named after Agastyas situated in the mountains nearby. It seems that the first Ārya settlement in Jambūdvīpa, which ultimately led to the birth of the later Hindū culture and race took place at Puṣkara and hence its importance is only next to Kurukṣetra, the cradle of the Ārya race and culture, and above Naimiṣa, the third most sacred place in India.[12] It is thus clear that the legend has its basis in the desiccation of the more raised parts of the Sarasvat sea, which, after the superfluous water causing the deluge had in due course drained away south-west into the receded Parāvat sea, got gradually dried up and converted into the great desert, barring the areas still occupied by the Tṛṇabindu lake in the north-east, the Drumakulya

10. Vana parva, CCI.
11. Vana parva LXXXIX.
12. *Mahābhārata,* Vana parva LXXXIII etc.

sea in the north and the Ujjālaka sea, also known as Agastya's lake, in the south. It must be some time after this stage that the first band of the Ārya explorers from south-eastern Sapta Saindhava led by the Agastyas crossed the desert and then the now lowered Arāvalis via Jambūmārga and settled at Puṣkara, the second and southern place sacred to Brahmā which may in a way be described as the birth-place of the later Hindū culture.

The legend also shows that there was a war between the Āryas and the people of Jambūdvīpa at that time. According to the story, the latter, imagined to be the descendants of the anti-Indra worship enemies defeated and turned out of Sapta Saindhava in earlier days, were the aggressors. It may be that the extensive seismic disturbances, which had elevated the beds of the seas and depressed the mountain ranges, had also submerged parts of Jambūdvīpa into the Indian Ocean and the terrified refugees, who could manage to escape from those regions, and others infected with their terror rushed northwards on to the drying bed of the Sarasvat sea and invaded the Āryas of south-eastern Sapta Saindhava. The Āryas, too, must have suffered a lot during the floods, but, as soon as they could muster strong, they attacked the Kāleyas of Jambūdvīpa in the desert and drove them back to the south. The exploring band of the Agastyas may have been a sequel of the victory.

The story of the desiccation of the sea, though a natural phenomenon, got fathered upon Agastya in the legends, because a descendant of his had headed the southern advance. There are reasons to believe that it was probably an Āgastya, who had led the attack against Kāleyas. The Āgastyas in due course pushed further south through the Vindhyās and gradually reached Dakṣiṇa, where they are located in the Rāmāyaṇa[13] and where their head handed over the bow of Viṣṇu, the emblem of Ārya conquest, to Rāma Aikṣvāku and bade him proceed further south to Pañcavaṭī.

The Parāvat sea is not connected with any such legend, because it provided no basis for it. All that happened was that as a result of the upheaval of its bed, the water after creating a deluge in the northern parts of the country drained away towards south and thus the sea got receded in that direction; while any depressions that were left got filled up in due course with the alluvia of the several rivers that began to flow over its old bed in

13. III-XII.

later days. As there is no third deluge mentioned, its bed must have got upheaved at the same time as that of the Sarasvat sea. It has left its memory in the name Sindhu Sāgara for its old bed in the south-western Pañjāb.

As already stated, the legend of Varāha shows that the Arvāvat sea was the first to be affected. But the Jambūdvīpa side of the story seems to have come to the knowledge of the Āryas at a still later period. It seems that volcanic activities continued in the east for a long time. Besides, that part remained marshy and uninhabitable for a still longer period. The Āryas could not, therefore, migrate on that side till a comparatively later age. The story has been converted into what is popularly known as the legend of the 'Descent of the Gaṅgā.' It is described in both the epics, as well as the Purāṇas, but as it is connected with the Ikṣvākus, the Rāmāyaṇa version is likely to be of greater value[14]. It is said that Sagara Aikṣvāku decided to perform a horse sacrifice and let loose the horse followed by his grandson Aṁśumān. But Indra, disguised as a demon, came and stole the horse away. The king ordered his sixty thousand sons, *i. e.* his tribesmen, to go and catch the thief and bring the horse back. They went and searched for it in Jambūdvīpa, digging all over the place and killing the Asuras, the Nāgas, the Rākṣasas and animals living in those regions; but without avail. Finally they came to its north-eastern regions and made extensive excavations in that area. There they found Vāsudeva (which means Agni and not Viṣṇu as suggested by Griffith, because Kṛṣṇa had not yet been born and, therefore, Viṣṇu could not be called Vāsudeva at that period) in the form of Kapila, with the horse standing close by. They took him to be a thief and rushed on him. But the enraged Kapila burnt them all to ashes. Not getting any news from them for a long time, Sagara sent his grandson and heir-apparent Aṁśumān to search for them and the horse. Aṁśumān, in due course, came to the place where the ashes of his kinsmen lay and also saw the horse roaming there. He was shocked at the sight. He wanted to offer the usual oblations to the dead, but found no water there. Then searching round he saw the brother-in-law of Sagara named Garuḍa, who consoled him and suggested that he should try to bring the Gaṅgā down to that region so as to secure salvation for his uncles. Aṁśumān returned with the horse and told the mournful story to his grandfather. After the completion of the sacrifice, Sagara wanted to bring the

14. I—XXXIX to XLIII.

Gaṅgā down but could not find any way to do so. He was succeeded by Aṁśumān, who, when his son Dilīpa came of age, handed over the kingdom to the latter and went to the Himālayas and performed austerities for the rest of his life with a view to take the Gaṅgā down. But in vain. Dilīpa too tried to find some way to achieve the object of his predecessors, but did not succeed. Then came his son and successor Bhagīratha, who left his kingdom in the charge of his ministers and went to Gokarṇa (which could not possibly be the famous place of that name in the south on the Malābār coast, as suggested by Griffith, that region being absolutely unknown to the Āryas in the days of Bhagīratha, an early ancestor of Rāma; but must be a place in the Himālayas near the sources of the Gaṅgā as suggested by the Mahābhārata version) and procured the favour of Brahmā. At the latter's suggestion he prayed to Śiva, who when propitiated, directed the Gaṅgā to come down. The story then speaks of the proud Gaṅgā being excited and filled with wrath at the imprudent suggestion and trying to whirl down Śiva in its overwhelming tide to the lowest depths. But Śiva held it on his head and kept it wandering about in his long and tangled hair, dense as the forests of the Himālayas, without its being able to find a way to the earth in spite of all its efforts, till its pride was tamed and it felt ashamed. In the meantime Bhagīratha again prayed to Śiva, who then bade the Gaṅgā to come out of his hair and descend into the Bindu lake. The Gaṅgā is, then, said to have divided into seven streams, three of which named the Hlādinī, the Pāvanī and the Nalinī went towards east, three others named the Sucakṣu, the Sītā and the Sindhu went to the west, while the seventh followed the lead of Bhagīratha. Evidently the first three represent the affluents of the Brahmaputra, the second three those of the Sindhu and the seventh the Gaṅgā itself. In the Mahābhārata version the Gaṅgā is said to divide into three streams which are not named. Probably the author meant the same three biggest rivers of the country which take their rise about the same area. The other two rivers were roped in because the legend was tacked on to that of the drying up of the ocean, *i. e.* the Sarasvat sea which was continuous with the Parāvat sea and which has been misunderstood by later authors to mean Indian Ocean. But there can be no doubt that the original story referred to the Gaṅgā alone. The poets then describe the further course of that river in the lower hills in picturesque language. In the Mahābhārata, it is said to run in a crooked and tortuous

course in places, stumbling at others and covered with foam as its dress like a woman tipsy with wine. Thus it reached the Earth *i. e.* the plains and asked Bhagīratha to lead it on to the excavations, which he did. But before it reached them it is said to have flooded the sacrificial grounds of the great ṛṣi Jahnu, who, getting annoyed, drank away all its water in one draught, but let it out through his ears at the request of the Devas. That is said to be the cause of its being known as Jāhnavī. Finally the Gaṅgā reached the vast excavations near the ocean and flooded them, giving salvation to the sixty thousand Ikṣvākus whose ashes lay there. The river was then adopted by Bhagīratha as his daughter and came to be called the Bhāgīrathī.

Goressio, as quoted by Griffith in his translation of the Rāmāyaṇa,[15] thought that the legend had reference to the volcanic phenomenon of nature, Kapila (one of the names of Agni, the deified fire) representing the hidden fiery force, which suddenly unprisons itself and bursts forth in volcanic effects. That is the only logical conclusion that could be drawn from the legend, specially as Kapila is said to be a form of Vāsudeva *i. e.* Agni.

It seems that Sagara (who had revived the fortunes of the Aikṣvākus by defeating the Haihaya Yadus,[16] the conquerors of his father and the then overlords of Sapta Saindhava) sent his army to explore the new country (Jambūdvīpa) beyond the previously upheaved and by then dry north-eastern parts of the bed of the Arvāvat sea. But they were caught in the seismic disturbances that were still going on there and were burnt in the volcanic fire that burst out probably in the regions now occupied by Vārāṇasī (or Kāśī) area and southern Bihār. They might have fought with the people of the intervening regions before the catastrophe took place. The earlier disturbances, which had caused the upheaval of the bed of the Arvāvat sea and more so that of its north-eastern parts (which had caused the flood of the Varāha, in south-eastern Sapta Saindhava), and the later ones, which killed the Aikṣvāku army, appear to have depressed the land in the east and created deep and extensive pits in many places. They must have also killed a large number of people as well as animals of the affected area. Both these results of the natural phenomena were also ascribed to the army of Sagara. Its destruction, in the way described above, must have

15. p. 59.
16. *Mahābhārata*, vana parva, p. 106 etc.

caused consternation amongst the Ikṣvākus, specially as they could not have considered themselves quite secure from their old enemies, the Yadus. They must have, therefore, decided to migrate eastwards away from the Yadus in the north-west as soon as possible. Aṁśumān, the crown prince, was sent forthwith to explore the country, but, though the volcanic activities had ceased, the state of the area must have been awful and the vision of the remnants of the dead must have frightened him. He would have, therefore, returned with an adverse report. The Ikṣvākus continued their efforts for several generations but failed to find a suitable place. The condition of the country would have naturally improved in course of time, the rains and the numerous rivers and rivulets, that flowed through it both from the north and the south, levelling the land and filling up the pits, thus making it suitable for human habitation. Then came Bhagīratha who decided to make another effort along the course of the Gaṅgā. The river was already there long before his time, as it is mentioned in the Ṛgveda. There could, thus, be no question of his bringing it down from the high regions of the Himālayas euphemistically described as the heaven. But this part of the story indicates that the Gaṅgā did not flow much beyond the Himālayas in early days *i. e.* the Ṛgvedic days. It may be that he decided to start from the very source of the river, or what is more likely, the legendarians roped in its upper course to complete the fanciful picture in which they painted the real story. In any case, Bhagīratha followed it, leaving his ancestral kingdom in the charge of his ministers. The Bindu lake appears to be a large depression somewhere in the Himālayas along the upper course of the Gaṅgā. It is mentioned in the Mahābhārata[17], together with the Bhāgīrathī nearby the hermitage of Nara and Nārāyaṇa (Badrīnāth) and Maināka mountain. It probably got filled up long ago and cannot be traced now. Jahnu, who is said to have drunk up the water of the river in one draught, appears to represent a shallow but large depression in the later Kānyakubja area, the modern Kānpur district which is associated with the descendants of the Ṛgvedic Jahnu *viz.* the Kuśikas, in later literature. This depression might have been a remnant of the old Arvāvat sea, like the Dvaitavana lake further west; or may have been created by the same forces which raised the bed of that sea further north. The description of the Gaṅgā coming out of Jahnu's ears shows that the depression (which that

17. Vana parva, CXLIV.

river had to fill like the Tṛṇabindu lake in the case of the Sarasvatī before it could proceed further) extended far more south than north from the place of its emergence. It must have been filled up in due time by the alluvia brought down by the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, which later, though nowhere stated, must have fallen into it after the destruction of the north-eastern parts of the Arvāvat sea. Bhagīratha would have easily crossed the Gaṅgā and skirted the Jahnu lake in the north and then followed the Gaṅgā along its left bank, till it fell into the sea covering the modern Vārāṇasī division, southern Bihār and Bangāl. This sea is said to have been in existence since æons back and is said to have extended much further in the north-west in earlier days. But it had receded a good deal and, according to the legend, it got extended upward again by the submersion of the land, supposed to have been dug up by the army of Sagara before they got killed by the volcanic fire there. Bhagīratha probably found the tract, later on known as Kośala, Avadh or Northern Kośala, in the north of the Gaṅgā fit for habitation and it was probably in his time that the Ikṣvākus migrated from south-eastern Sapta Saindhava as a tribe and settled in that area. The story of migration of Videhas (Maithilās) in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[18] also shows that the land in the east of the south-eastern Sapta Saindhava (the Sarasvatī basin) was very marshy in early days after the Ṛgvedic period. Gradually it got dried up to the Sadānīrā river (the modern Gaṇḍakī), the traditional boundary between Avadh and Mithilā; while the land to the east of that river remained marshy for a still further period. In course of time that area too got dried up and the Videhas settled there. These marshes must have been left by the seismic disturbances, which upheaved the bed of the Arvāvat sea, specially in the modern Meraṭh and Bijnor districts and depressed the land further east, the Jahnu lake being probably the biggest of those depressions, as it is the only one mentioned by a special name. It may be, that like the Agastya lake in the south, which was first discovered to the Āryas by his descendants, the lake or marsh called Jahnu was first seen by the descendants of the Ṛgvedic ṛṣi of that name, who might have led an exploring band either of Bhagīratha or one of his ancestors.

These legends also indicate that the Gangetic sea of Das and the unnamed sea covering the Eastern India of Wells could not have been very

18. I-4-1-14 to 17.

far from Avadh and Mithilā (Northern Bihār), when the Ikṣvākus and the Videhas settled there at different times.

This interpretation of the legends is further confirmed by the fact that the Naimiṣa area in Avadh is considered to be the third most sacred region in India after Kurukṣetra and Puṣkara.[19] This must be due to the fact that it was known to be the second earliest Ārya settlement in Jambūdvīpa and the first in its eastern parts. I have often wondered if the believers of the Ārya migration to Sapta Saindhava from somewhere in the west or north-west and of the origin of Ṛk verses in the Kābul or the Indus valley have ever considered why Kurukṣetra, Puṣkara and Naimiṣa have been regarded as the most sacred regions in that order and why no other place further north-west has been so regarded even in the early literature of the country undoubtedly composed before the Indian part of Afghānistān, the North Western Frontier Province and the Pañjāb of prepartition India were conquered by foreign invaders. The only possible explanation is that the Āryas of Sapta Saindhava knew of no original home except Kurukṣetra in the same country and the later Hindūs of no first settlements after emigration from the original home except Puṣkara in the south and Naimiṣa in the east.

I have selected the Kāśī area or the Southern Bihār for the probable site of the destruction of sixty thousand Aikṣvākus for two reasons. Firstly, because the site is said to be situated near the Ocean and the Gangetic sea of Das and unnamed sea of Wells appears to have covered Southern Bangāl, if not also Bihār, in those days. Secondly, because death at Kāśī is supposed to ensure salvation by the Hindus, while the offering of oblations at Gayā in Southern Bihar by descendants is supposed to secure the same for the ancestors. These ideas may possibly have originated in the fact that the army of the Ikṣvākus was known to have acquired their salvation en masse after death in these areas when Gaṅgā reached there.

The legends of Varāha, Matsya, Agastya and the Gaṅgā as well as other evidences quoted above, thus, prove that at the end of the Ṛgvedic age a series of tremendous and extensive seismic and cataclysmic disturbances took place, which upheaved the beds of the Arvāvat, the Sarasvat and the Parāvat seas together with the coastlands of Sapta Saindhava here and there, specially in the regions of the salt range and the lower valleys of the

19. *Mahābhārata*, Vana parva, LXXXIII.

Pañjāb rivers causing extensive floods in that country; and lowered the mountains and highlands of Jambūdvīpa, possibly with the submergence of some of its parts in the Indian Ocean. After the draining of the flood waters, the well raised parts of the sea beds got dried or filled up with the alluvia of the rivers flowing through them and the two countries got united to form the India of later days. There is, therefore, no reason to be surprised if we find the physical geography of the Ṛgvedic Sapta Saindhava quite different from that of the North-western India of later ages.

The fate of the Śaryaṇāvat sea has already been mentioned. It was first reduced in size even during the earlier parts of the Ṛgvedic age by the alteration of the course of the Indus. Later legends (Nīlamata) show it to have been burst and drained by Śiva and then populated by a Kāśyapa *i.e.* a descendant of the Ṛgvedic Kaśyapa ṛṣi. This obviously means that the narrow and the shallow gorge, through which the then small river Vitastā came out, got suddenly widened and deepened as a result of some seismic disturbances in that region, and this was ascribed to Śiva, the chief deity of the snow-clad mountains.

Scholars like Max Müller have thought that the legend of Kaśyapa or Kūrma, mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,[20] and in the much exaggerated form in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, referred to a third flood[21]. But it is not easy to imagine how the story of the churning up of the ocean to get precious things out of it may originally concern a flood. On the other hand it is easily conceivable that it originated in the draining away of a sea, whose emptied bed provided a home which has been more than once described as 'the heaven on Earth,' in different ages and by people of different nationalities and races. It may have, therefore, had its basis in the emptying of the Śaryaṇāvat sea or Satīsar known as the Kaśyapa- (or Kāśyapa) mīra in later days.

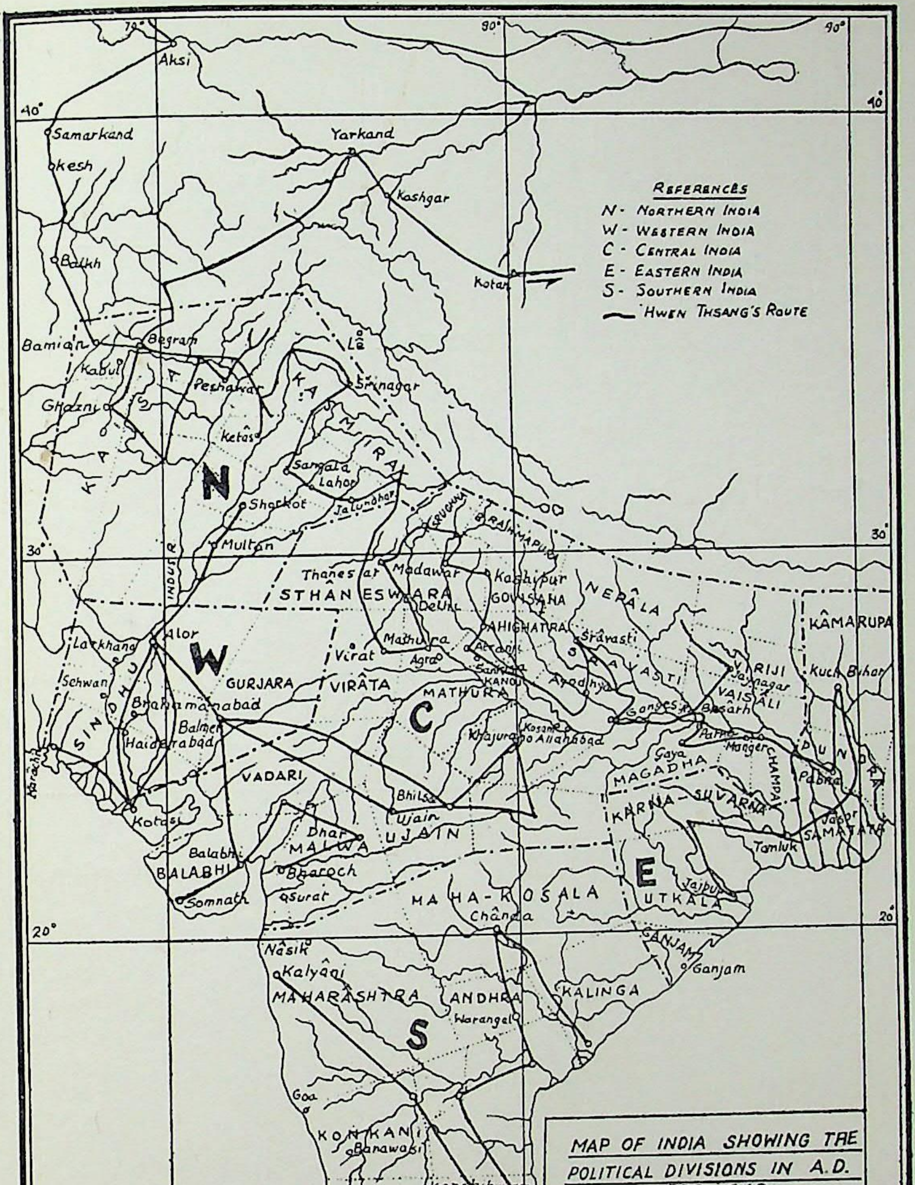
Some scholars have connected the legend of Varāha with the draining of the Satīsar, because an area in the Kaśmīr valley is known as Bārāmūlā which, in their opinion, is a corruption of Varāha-Mūla. But the legend explicitly refers to a deluge when the previously inhabited land had sunk under water. There is no evidence whatsoever to believe that the Kaśmīr valley was inhabited before it got converted into a lake. On the other

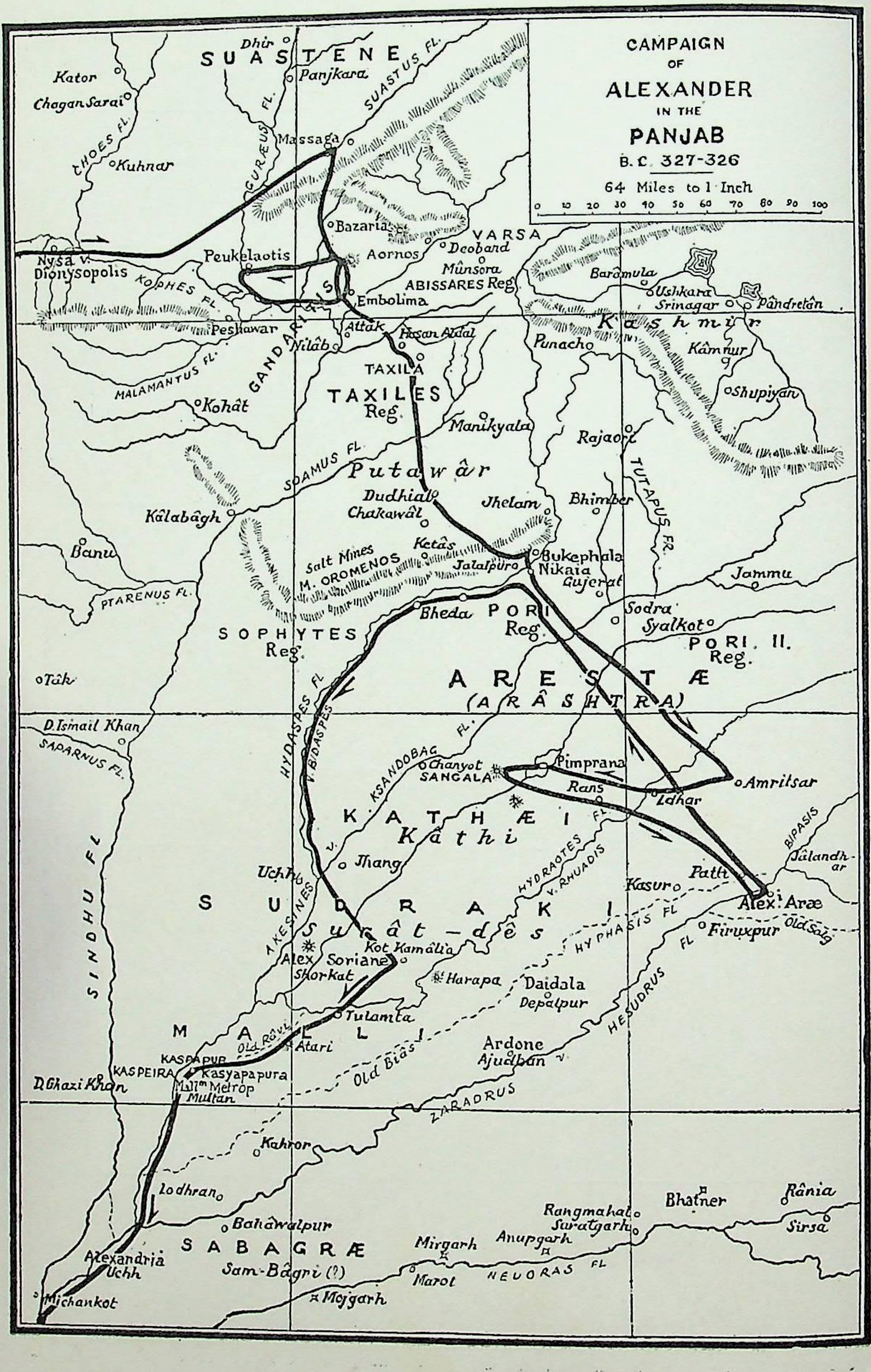
20. VII-5-1-5.
21. Max Müller: *India*, p. 133.

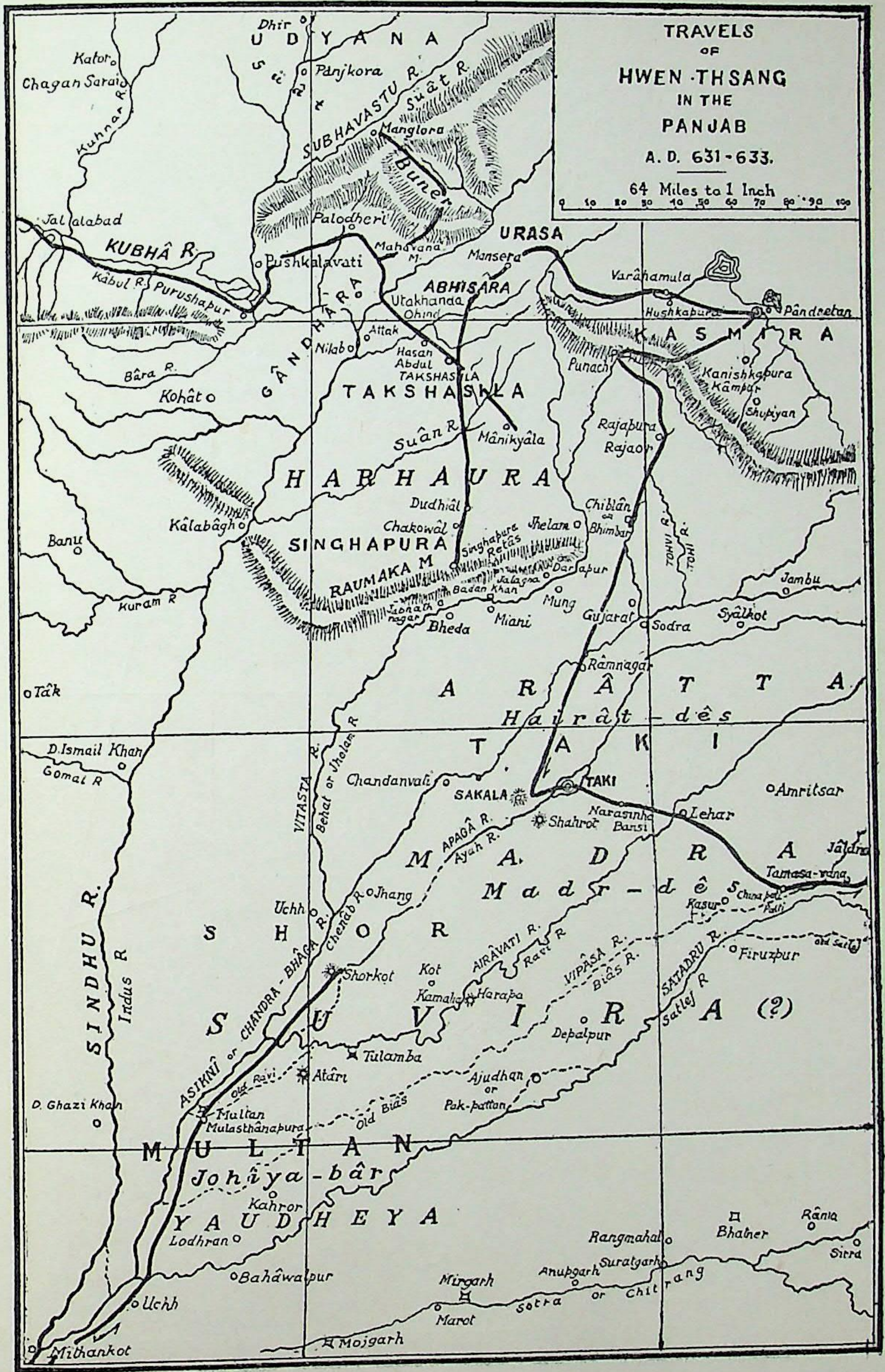
hand, the Ṛgveda shows that it was the Śaryaṇāvat sea before it dwindled down to Satīsar; while the Nīlamata also proves that it was a huge lake before it got drained and populated. Besides, Varāha is associated with the southern border of Kurukṣetra in the Mahābhārata[22] and, so far as I know, is not mentioned in connection with the Kaśmīr valley in any old literature, though the land of the Kaśmīras and the sacred region of Kaśmīra are mentioned in the Mahābhārata,[23] in the descriptions of holy places. It is, therefore, unlikely that this legend had any connection with the bursting and draining away of Satīsar which is ascribed to Śiva. Bārā Mūlā of Kaśmīr must have acquired that name in some other way.

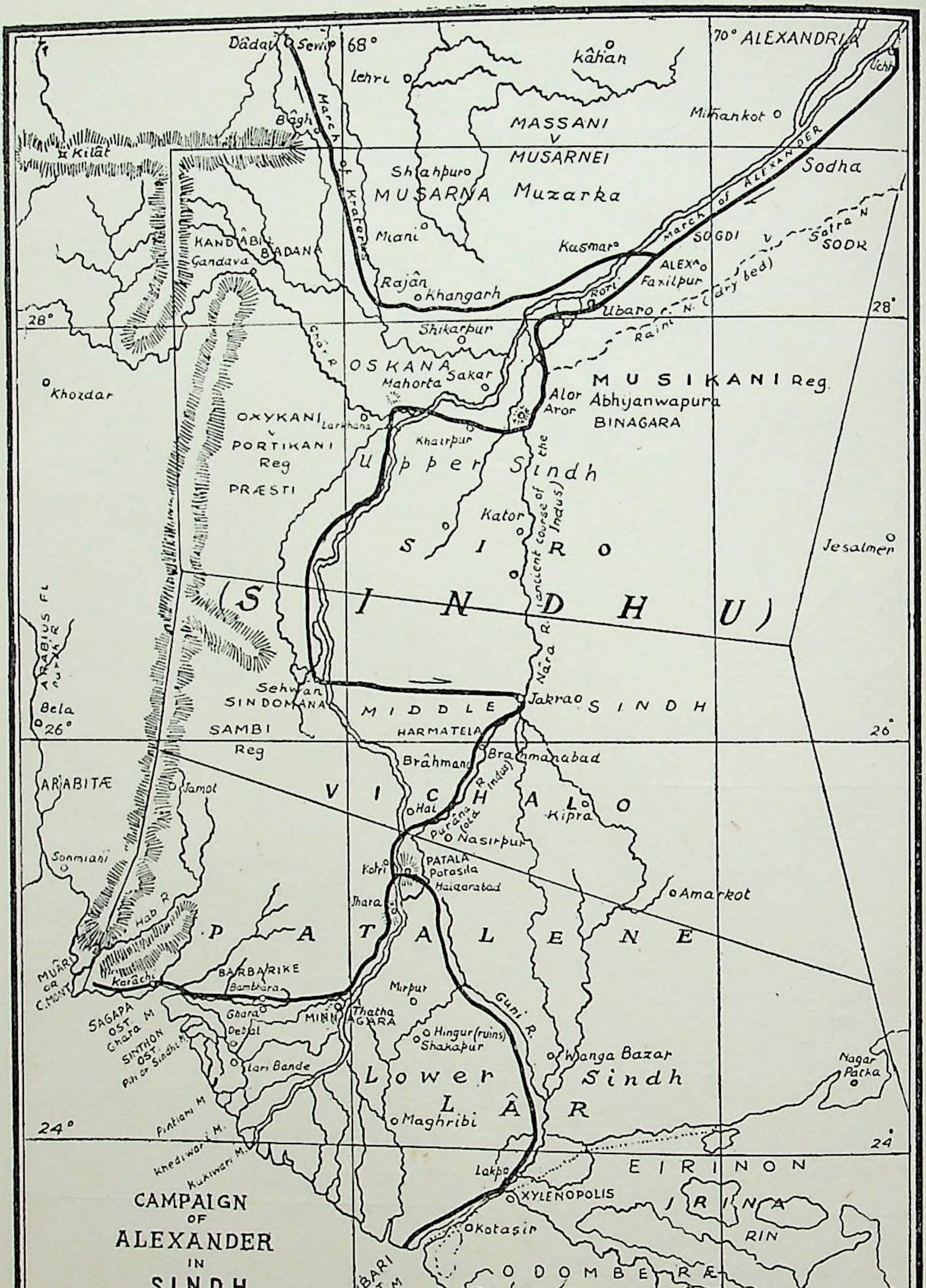
The oldest era, peculiar to Kaśmīr and still current among the Paṇḍits there, is what is known as the Saptarṣi era. It started in 3072 B. C. and probably indicates the date of the occupation of the valley by the Āryas led by the Kaśyapas or may be of the establishment of the first state there. It is, therefore, permissible to hold that the valley of Kaśmīr became fit for habitation by the 31st century B. C. and, therefore, the gorge of the Vitastā would have got widened and deepened some centuries before that date.

22. Vana parva, LXXXIII.
23. *Ibid*, LXXXII and CXX.

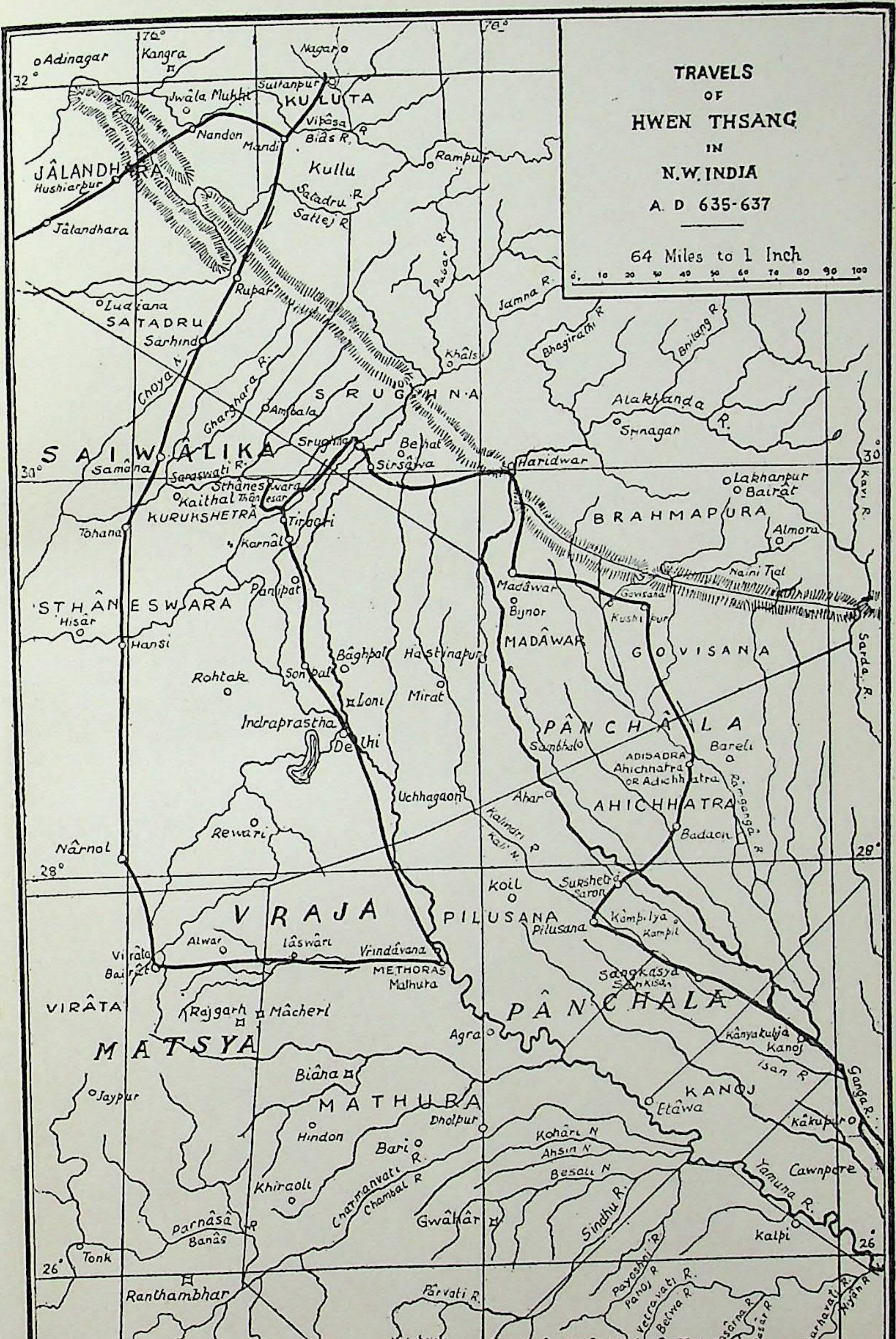

REFERENCES
N - NORTHERN INDIA
W - WESTERN INDIA
C - CENTRAL INDIA
E - EASTERN INDIA
S - SOUTHERN INDIA
HWEN THSANG'S ROUTE
MAP OF INDIA SHOWING THE
POLITICAL DIVISIONS IN A.D.
629-642
N
W
C
E
S
Aksi
Samarkand
Kesh
Yarkand
Kashgar
Balkh
Kotan
Bamian
Begram
Kabul
Peshawar
Ghazni
Ketas
Le
Srinagar
KASMIRA
Sangala
Lahor
Jalundhar
Shorkot
Multan
INDUS R
BRAHMAPUTRA
Thanesar
Madawar
STHANESWARA
Delhi
Kashipur
GOVISANA
AHICHATRA
NEPALA
Sravasti
KAMARUPA
Alor
Larkhana
Schwan
SINDHU
Brahmanabad
Balmer
Haiderabad
Karachi
GURJARA
VIRATA
Virat
Mathura
Agra
MATHURA
Kanouj
Ayodhya
VRIJI
Janakpur
VAISALI
Basarh
Kuch Bihar
Ganges R
Kosam
Khajuraho
Allahabad
Patna
Monger
Gaya
CHAMPA
MAGADHA
PUNDRA
Pabna
Jasor
SAMATATA
KARNA-SUVARNA
Tamluk
VADARI
Kotasi
Bhilsa
Ujain
UJAIN
Dhar
MALWA
Balabhi
BALABHI
Bharoch
Surat
Somnath
MAHA-KOSALA
Chanda
UTKALA
Jajpur
GANJAM
Ganjam
Nasik
Kalyani
MAHARASHTRA
ANDHRA
Warangel
KALINGA
Goa
KONKANI
Banawasi
Kanchipuram
DRAVIDA
MALAKUTA
Kochin
Kaulam
Madura
SINHALA
40°
30°
20°
10°
70°
80°
90°


CAMPAIGN OF ALEXANDER IN THE PANJAB
B.C. 327-326
64 Miles to 1 Inch
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
SUASTENE
Dhir
Panjkara
SUASTUS FL.
Kator
Chagan Sarai
GURÆUS FL.
CHOES FL.
Kuhnar
Massaga
Bazaria
VARSA
Deobard
Mûnsora
ABISSARES Reg.
Aornos
Peukelaotis
Nysa v.
Dionysopolis
KOPHES FL.
Embolima
Baramula
Ushkara
Srinagar
Pândretân
Kashmîr
Peshawar
Attak
Hasan Abdal
Nilâb
GANDARIS
Punach
Kâmnur
TAXILA
TAXILES Reg.
MALAMANTUS FL.
Kohât
Shupiyan
Manikyala
Rajaori
TUTAPUS FL.
SOAMUS FL.
Putawâr
Dudhial
Chakawâl
Jhelam
Bhimber
Kâlabâgh
Banu
Salt Mines
M. OROMENOS
Ketâs
Jalalpur
Bukephala
Nikaia
Gujerat
Jammu
PTARENUS FL.
Bheda
PORI Reg.
Sodra
Syalkot
PORI. II. Reg.
SOPHYTES Reg.
Tâk
ARESTÆ
(ARÂSHTRA)
D. Ismail Khan
SAPARNUS FL.
HYDASPES FL.
V. BIDASPES
KSANDOBAG FL.
Chanyot
SANGALA
Pimprana
Rans
Amritsar
Ldhar
KATHÆI
Kâthi
SINDHU FL.
HYDRAOTES FL.
V. RHUADIS
BIPASIS
Jâlandhar
Jhang
Uchh
Patti
Kasur
Alex. Aræ
SUDRAKI
AKESINES
Surât-dês
HYPHASIS FL.
Firuzpur
Old Satlaj
Alex
Soriane
Shorkat
Kot Kamâlia
Harapa
Daidala
Depalpur
HESUDRUS FL.
Tulamba
MALLI
Old Râvi
Atari
Ardone
Ajudhan
KASPAPUR
KASPEIRA
Kasyapapura
Malli Metrop
Multan
D. Ghazi Khan
Old Biâs
ZARADRUS
Kahror
Lodhran
Bhatner
Rânia
Rangmahal
Suratgarh
Sirsa
Bahâwalpur
SABAGRÆ
Sam-Bâgri (?)
Mirgarh
Anupgarh
Alexandria
Uchh
Marot
NEUORAS FL.
Mojgarh
Michankot


TRAVELS OF HWEN-THSANG IN THE PANJAB A.D. 631-633.
64 Miles to 1 Inch
UDYANA
Dhir
Katör
Chagan Sarai
Kuhnar R.
Panjkora
SUBHAVASTU R.
Suât R.
Manglora
Buner
Jalalabad
KUBHÂ R.
Kâbul R.
Purushapur
Palodheri
Pushkalavati
Mahavana M.
URASA
Mansera
ABHISARA
Varâhamula
Hushkapura
Pândretan
KASMIRA
GÂNDHÂRA
Utakhanda
Ohind
Attak
Nilab
Hasan Abdul
TAKSHASILA
Bâra R.
Kohât
Punach
Kanishkapura
Kâmpur
Shupiyan
Suân R.
Mânikyâla
Rajapura
Rajaori
HARHAURA
Dudhiâl
Chakowâl
Jhelam
Chiblân
Bhimbar
Kâlabâgh
Banu
SINGHAPURA
Singhapura Retâs
RAUMAKA M
Darâpur
Jalâlpur
Badan Khan
Mung
Kuram R
Miani
Bheda
Gujarât
Sodra
Syâlkot
Jambu
Tohvi R.
Tohi R.
Râmnagar
Tâk
ARATTA
Hairât-dês
TAKI
D.Ismail Khan
Gomal R
Vitasta R.
Behat or Jhelam R
Chandanvali
SAKALA
TAKI
Amritsar
Narasinha
Bansi
Shahrot
Lehar
APAGÂ R.
Ayah R.
MADRA
Madr-dês
Jâlandhara
Tamasa-vana
China-pati
Patti
Kasur
Jhang
Uchh
Chenab R.
SHORR
SINDHU R.
Indus R
CHANDRA-BHÂGA R.
Shorkot
Kot Kamalia
Harapa
AIRÂVATI R.
Ravi R.
VIPÂSA R.
Biâs R.
SATADRU R.
Satlej R
Firuzpur
Old Satlej
SUVIRA (?)
Depalpur
Tulamba
Atâri
Ajudhan or Pak-pattan
ASIKNÎ or
Old Ravi
Old Biâs
D. Ghazi Khan
Multan
Mulasthânapura
MULTAN
Johiya-bâr
Kahror
YAUDHEYA
Lodhran
Bahâwalpur
Uchh
Mithankot
Mirgarh
Marot
Mojgarh
Rangmahal
Bhatner
Rânia
Sirsa
Suratgarh
Anupgarh
Sotra or Chitrang



CAMPAIGN OF ALEXANDER IN SINDH B.C. 326-325.



TRAVELS OF HWEN THSANG IN N.W. INDIA A.D 635-637
64 Miles to 1 Inch
JÂLANDHARA
KULUTA
Kullu
SATADRU
SRUGHNA
SAIWALIKA
KURUKSHETRA
STHÂNESWARA
BRAHMAPURA
MADÂWAR
GOVISANA
PÂNCHÂLA
AHICHHATRA
VRAJA
PILUSANA
VIRÂTA
MATSYA
PÂNCHALA
KANOJ
MATHURA
JAJHAOTI
Indraprastha
Delhi
Haridwar
Agra
Cawnpore


ANCIENT INDIAN SITES
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400
REFERENCE NOTE
Buddhist & Jaina.. Piprawa
Hindu........ Kishtwar
Mohammedan.. Seringapatam
KASHMIR
TIBET
Ladakh
PUNJAB
RAJPUTANA
SIND
NEPAL
Bihar
BENGAL
Orissa
Malwa
Gujrat
Cutch
MYSORE
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
Tropic of Cancer
R Indus
Brahmaputra R
R. Godavari
R. Kistna
Narbada
Tapti
Ganges
Laccadive Is
Ghazni
Jalalabad
Charsadda
Mansahra
Peshawar
Shabbazgarhi
Srinagar
Attock
Punch
Islamabad
Anantnag
Bannu
Rawalpindi
Manikyala
Kistwar
Martand
Shahdheri
(Taxila)
Badrawar
Jammu
Chamba
Kandahar
Malot
Sialkot
(Jakala)
Pathankot
Kangra
Lahore
Amritsar
Jalandhar
Ferozepore
Kalsi
Harappa
Dera Ghezi Khan
Multan
Saharanpur
Karnal
Hardwar
Baijnath
Hissar
Sui-Vihar
Sonepat
Rohtak
Delhi
Sravasti
Alwar
Mutra
(Mathura)
Bairath
Piprawa
Khatmandu
Bhatgaon
Jaisalmer
Thal
Rukhan
Sehwan
Sambhar
Ajmer
Fatehpur Sikri
Chatsu
Agra
Sankisa
Kanauj
Etawah
Bahraich
Kapilavastu
Gorakhpur
Lucknow
Ajodhya
Suhania
Kesariya
Besarn
Jalpes
Haj
Kamakhya
Brahmanabad
Balmer
Nadol
Ranthambhor
Gwalior
Datia
Jaunpur
Maner
Kartanagar
Dinajpur
Gaur
Badal
Bhinmal
Sadri
Nagda
Chitor
Baroli
Orchha
Mahoba
Allahabad
Benares
Chitrakot
Kalinjer
Mirzapur
Sahasram
Gaya
Patna
Bihar
Monghyr
Mandar Hill
Udaipur
Mt Abu
Khajraho
Bharaut
Budh Gaya
Rajagriha
Deogarh
Parasvanath
Murshidabad
Atia
Sonara
Dacca
Patan
Rakhabdev
Jhairapatan
Dhamnar
Eran
Chanderi
Sidhapur
Mandosor
Sanchi
Bhilsa
Barakar
Mudhera
Ujjain
Bilhar
Rupnath
Jubbulpore
Dhar
Mandu
Mandla
Amarkantak
Ramgarh Hill
Bishnupur
Satgaon
Calcutta
Tamluk
Ahmadabad
Dwarka
Ghumli
Cambay
Wala
Girnar Hill
Bagh
Dabhoi
Mandhata
Junagarh
Palitana
Broach
Burhavipur
Gawilgarh
Balesore
Somnath
Surat
Pitalkhora
Ajanta
Jajpur
Ratnagiri Hill
Mahmada
Nasik
Ellora
Chanda
Bhuvaneswar
Udayagiri Hill
Konarak
Puri
Supara
Sinhar
Aurangabad
Paithan
Markandi
Jaugada
Salsette
Bombay
Kalyan
Kanheri
Karle
Junnar
Ahmadnagar
Ter
(Tagara)
Nilanga
Hanamkonda
Worangal
Mahendragiri
Srikurmam
Calingapatam
Kuda
Poona
Nanad
Dharasiva
Kalyani
Bidar
Dabhol
Buchanapalli
Golconda
Draksharama
Karad
Gulbarga
Hyderabad
Pithapuram
Kolhapur
Bijapur
Amaravati
Vegi
Belgaum
Dharwar
Pattadkai
Badami
Chezarla
Masulipatam
Srisailam
Ittag
Dambal
Adoni
Vijayanagar
Henga
Harittar
Banavasi
Balagami
Bellary
Bhatkal
Siddapura
Tirupati
Arsikere
Udipi
Madras
Nudbidri
Koravangala
Conjeeveram
Betur
Vellore
Mamallapuram
Sravana Belgola
Gingee
Tirumalai
Seringapatam
Talakad
Mysore
Gangaikondapuram
Chilambaram
Kombekonam
Nagapatam
Trichinopoly
Tanjore
Paini
Madura
Rameswaram
Tinnevelli
Tiruchendur
Anuradhapura
Pollonarud
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